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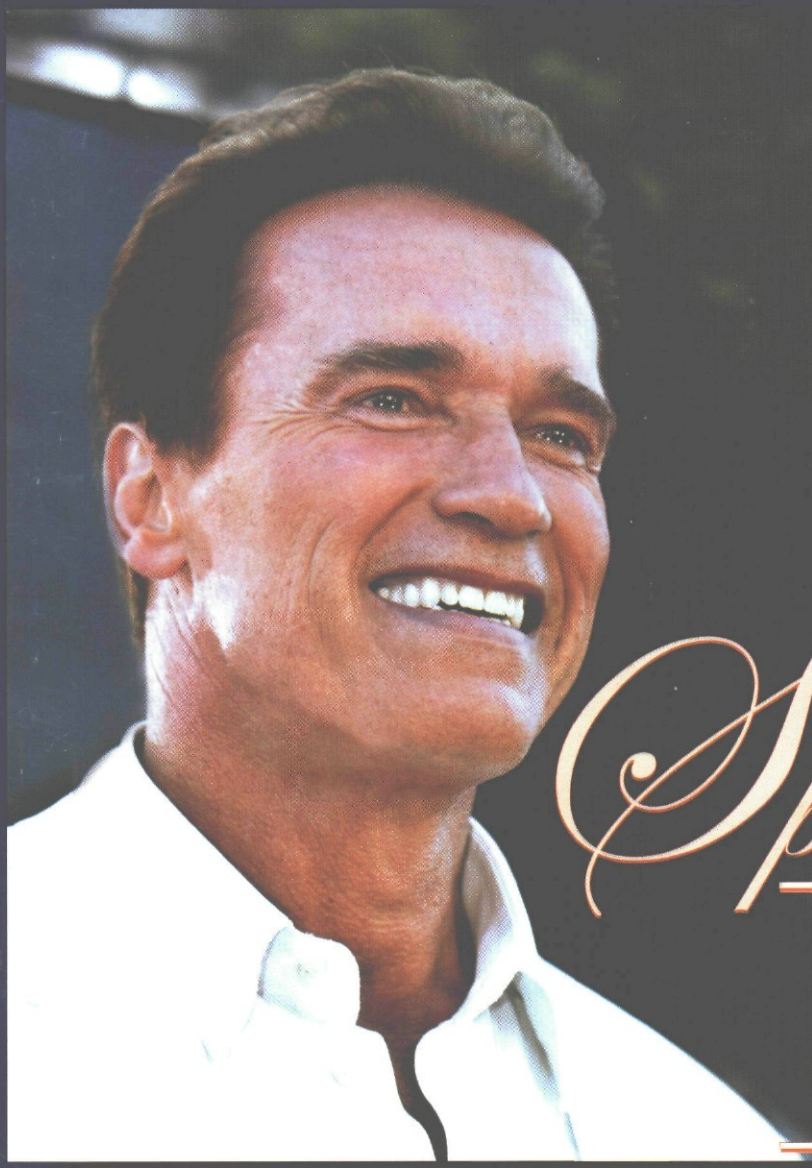

Spirit of the Recall

Will voters make the Schwarzenegger revolution permanent?

William E. Saracino

Ron Keeva Unz

555 Bryant St #371
Palo Alto, CA 94301

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Will voters make the Schwarzenegger revolution permanent? Those are the stakes as November 2 approaches. Herewith, *CPR's* lead politics correspondent handicaps the presidential and U.S. senate races in California and provides in-depth analysis of the state's 11 most competitive congressional and legislative contests.

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CORRESPONDENCE

Schwarzenegger's radical idea

The "radical idea" your cover proclaims ("The Bodybuilder's Guide to Government Reform," George Passantino, *CPR*, Sept./Oct. 2004) is ably summed up by Mr. Passantino in his brief discussion of baseline *vs.* performance based budgeting.

The issue is whether state government should serve the people or itself. Baseline budgeting is self-serving for government. As Mr. Passantino writes, under the baseline approach, "previous years' spending levels are ... assumed to be good investments." With performance based budgeting, meanwhile, "programs are measured each year for what they achieve" the better to eliminate or reduce those "that fail to achieve their goals." The question is: what goals? Those of the people? or those of the army of public employees?

Who could possibly favor a regime of assumptions that every dollar spent by government is a "good investment?" Clearly no one whose concern is for the public interest.

Baseline budgeting is transparently bureaucracy taking on a life of its own. Restoring the interests of the people who pay for and must live under this government, and who, by the way, are supposed to be sovereign in this nation, could seem "radical" only to the disconnected politicos too long in Sacramento to remember what real life is like (if they ever knew.)

David Lindros
Redwood City

Those in power over us

Is there no end to the nefarious ways political busybodies can find to harass and bedevil ordinary folks just trying to get on with their lives? M. David Stirling's "An oppressive solution to a non-existent problem" (*CPR*, Sept./Oct.) is enough to make one's jaw drop. So the federal government suddenly decides that all America's hard working medical providers *must* stop the important work they are doing, at least long enough to set up "full interpreter and translator services" for anybody who walks in wanting medical service and who is lacking in English fluency. The medical providers must pay the costs of this service and risk being targeted by federal investigators looking for "national origin" discrimination if anyone complains about the quality of the translating. All this for having made the mistake of wanting to provide us all with medical care.

David Horowitz describes leftists simply as "troublemakers." And that seems to be about all they are.

Linda Stanek
Sacramento

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION, 10/13/04

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Extent and nature of circulation	Avg. copies each issue preceeding 12 months	Actual copies of single issue pub. nearest to filing date
A. Total no. copies printed	2072	2000
B1. Out-of-County paid circulation periodicals mail	900	950
B2. In County paid circulation, mail	198	204
B3. Paid circulation, non-USPS distribution	188	15
B4. Other paid, mail circulation	0	0
C. Total paid circulation	1286	1169
D1. Out-of-County free distribution periodicals mail	326	329
D2. In County free distribution periodicals mail	57	56
D3. Other free distribution by mail	14	29
E. Free distribution, not mail	110	107
F. Total free distribution	507	521
G. Total distribution	1793	1690
H. Copies not distributed	283	310
I. Total	2076	2000
J. Percent paid and/or requested circulation	71.72%	69.17%

I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete. John Kurzweil, Editor

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SACRAMENTO SPECTATOR

Mid-October brought mixed news for conservatives from Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger.

The good news was that he continues to be willing to campaign hard for GOP legislative nominees, including some who are quite conservative. The litmus test for active involvement from the governor appears to be electability, not ideology. There has been no shunning of conservative nominees in competitive districts, nor obvious favoritism shown to more moderate nominees.

As mentioned in last issue's column, Schwarzenegger's active involvement could tip the balance in a couple of close contests, and a pickup of even one seat in either house would allow the governor to claim a "scalp." A detailed analysis of contested legislative races appears elsewhere in this issue, so I won't go into details. Suffice it to say that Schwarzenegger is engaged and energized to bring more Republicans to the Legislature.

The Democrats know this, but because the Legislature suffers from abysmally low ratings with voters, in contrast to the governor's strong popularity, the Dems have no effective counterpunch they can aim directly at him. They hope their legislative financial advantage of several million dollars coupled with Kerry and Boxer landslides at the top of the ticket will help them emerge from the election without losses.

That outcome would greatly embolden both Speaker Nunez (who might lose his job to another Democrat if the GOP picks up 2 or more Assembly seats) and newly-minted Senate President Pro-Tem Don Parata, whose future in his caucus also remains uncertain pending the election results.

The bad news from Schwarzenegger was his endorsement of state funding for stem cell research, Proposition 71. Forget for a moment that the state Republican Party is officially on record opposing it. California is already awash in bonded indebtedness, and this proposal will cost the state at least $3 billion in extra interest payments over the next 10 years. The governor has made much of the need to improve the business climate. Putting the state further in debt is an interesting — some might even say un-Republican — approach to doing that.

Additionally, there is plenty of private money available for stem cell research projects that show promise of success. The private capital market is far more capable than state bureaucrats of discerning projects that merit support. The governor claims to be a follower of Milton Friedman. It is hard to imagine Friedman approving of this boondoggle.

Then there's the truly ugly: the governor's support of the Prop. 62 Louisiana Primary system. This endorsement also contradicts the official state GOP position. It ignores GOP legislative leaders' strong pleas that he remain neutral. It could end his honeymoon with his own Party. It recalls conservative fears that he will try to purge them from the Party and turn it over to Brooks Firestone-type moderates.

Schwarzenegger for 62 makes sense only as an opening salvo in an all-out GOP civil war that could last for years. If that was *not* his intention, it was a pointles thumb in the eye to his base and his first really dumb move as governor. These endorsements, by undoing the good will he had built up with conservatives, could enormously complicate his dealings with the Legislature next year, no matter what the final number of Republicans in either house.

— A. P. C.

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LA's Anti-First Amendment Supervisors

Liberal members join the ACLU in forcing politically incorrect symbols down the memory hole.

HAROLD JOHNSON

IF YOU'RE staying up late and one of the old Perry Mason TV movies is on the tube, look closely as the credits roll over the signature scene of an empty courtroom. With the familiar theme music swelling, the camera zooms in on the seal hanging over the judge's chair — the Great Seal of the County of Los Angeles. Because these films are from the 1980s and 1990s, they're an archive of a pre-PC era, when the Seal still bore the "offensive" symbols that were recently banished by official edict.

Like one of those Kremlin group photos that was re-touched to make an out-of-favor Soviet *aparatchik* disappear, the L.A. County Seal has been relieved of the oil derricks, the goddess Pomona — and the tiny cross — that long adorned it.

The white-out was applied in response to a threatened lawsuit from the Los Angeles chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union, but the ACLU won a larger victory than they aimed for. They only complained about the cross. They didn't have a problem with Pomona — even though she was a deity in mythology — and nobody mentioned the oil rigs as a problem.

So score one — or is it three? — for the spirit of censorship. What makes the redesign more distressing is that the ACLU is touting this as a victory for the Constitution — and three of L.A. County's five Supervisors are nodding in agreement. Their choice to switch seals rather than fight was based on their belief — or at least what they claimed was their belief — that the cross couldn't pass constitutional muster.

This exposes them as either constitutional illiterates or full of flim-flam. In overseeing the design of the now-defunct Seal, the late Supervisor Kenny Hahn added the cross not as a devotional sign but as a historical marker, pointing to the 18th century Spanish mission movement that brought Los Angeles and California into being. Supreme Court case law allows religious symbols on public property when their purpose is for historical remembrance. To demand that Los Angeles wipe out graphic symbols of its Franciscan founding is as ludicrous as demanding a name change, to disassociate the county (and city) with angels (or "Queen of Angels," as the full name in Spanish reads.)

In a nod to this common-sense truth, the new Seal includes a rendering of the San Gabriel mission. But it is cross-free and aggressively nondescript, leading one critic to ask, "What is that building? It looks like a Wal-Mart."

The bonus, for the politically correct, was the supplanting of instruments of the oil industry — an industry that helped define Los Angeles through much of the 20th Century — with graphics less likely to make alternative-energy devotees wince: some engineering tools, a tuna, and a cow. Somehow a Spanish Galleon was included, but "indigenous" peoples (whose ancestors emigrated from Asia) get the upper hand in the form of an American Indian woman, carrying a bowl, who has displaced Pomona at the center of the emblem.

ALTHOUGH HE applauded all the changes, an ACLU attorney said, "As far as we were concerned, they could have satisfied their legal obligation by simply removing the cross."

Not true. There was no legal requirement to dispatch down the memory hole the symbol that was carried to Alta California by those who founded it. Is the

CPR *Editorial Board member Harold Johnson is an attorney with Pacific Legal Foundation (www.pacificlegal.org).*

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THE FRONT LINE

LA awakening?

Less than two years after taking over Los Angeles County's Republican Party, County Chairman Linda Boyd's "no more excuses" leadership team has identified 3,733 walkers already actively covering the county's 3,891 "priority" precincts (defined as containing 100 or more registered Republicans — the county has between 5,500 and 6,000 precincts total). The goal is to turn out the maximum possible number of GOP voters Nov. 2 in the California county more Republicans call home than any other.

The LA County Party's computers keep track of every Republican voter, eliminating from further contact (this cycle) all those who have cast absentee ballots. Applying techniques San Diego Chairman Ron Nehring employed to turn around his county's once-ailing GOP operation, Boyd and company expend most of their GOTV energy in direct, knock-on-the-door and talk to the voter walking.

Nehring frequently cites a Yale University study that compared the impact on voter turnout of direct mail, telephoning, and in-person visits: it found phone calls have *no* impact, mail generates 0.8 percent increased voting, but in-person visits can up voting 10 percent.

In Los Angeles County, election day walking will target medium and low propensity Republican voters, trusting regular voters to find their way to to the polls as they usually do. The Party is targeting Assembly Districts 53 (Republican Mayor Greg Hill of Redondo Beach vs. Democrat Mayor Mike Gordon of El Segundo), 54 (Democrat Betty Karnette vs. Republican Steve Kuykendall), and 61 (Allen Wapner for the GOP against Dem incumbent Gloria McLeod) — all three current Democrat seats, any one of which, should it go Republican, will cause major upheaval throughout the state.

All this activity stands in stark contrast to very recent history, when L.A. was virtually written off by Republicans as a supposedly hopeless "black hole" good for exhausting resources and giving nothing in return. This short-sighted notion ignored the impact of a large LA GOP turnout on statewide races. As Chairman Boyd wrote in *CPR's* March/April 2003 issue, "several 2002 Republican statewide candidates would hold office today but for the large margins their Democrat opponents ran up in Los Angeles County."

As near as anyone seems able to figure, in 2002 something between two and three hundred Republican volunteers worked the County (no records are known to have been kept). By last year's recall, revitalized county Republicans fielded 1,141 workers, according to phone surveys of LA area GOP headquarters.

Now, with more than three times that recall total logged in to County Party computers, a real potential for dramatic results has been created. For comparison purposes, consider the sharp upswing San Diego County Republicans saw immediately following implementation of Nehring's aggressive grass-roots program: in 2002, in San Diego County, Bill Simon trounced Gray Davis 51.6 to 40.8 percent for a nearly 11-point victory — two years after George W. Bush carried the County by only 4.5 percent, four years after Dan Lungren lost it by 3 points, and six years after Bob Dole's one point win there. Will LA County provide the next such "surprise" GOP upsurge? If it does, many presumptions not only about the County, but about the state, will hit the trash heap Nov. 3. CPR

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ACLU dedicated to civil liberties — or to cultural amnesia?

* * *

Funny how getting hauled into court sometimes jogs the memory of public officials as to their constitutional responsibilities. Initially, administrators at Novato High School in Marin County told 18-year-old student Andrew Smith that *The Buzz,* the school's newspaper, wouldn't publish his opinion piece that blasted affirmative action as "reverse racism." When Smith took the step of filing a lawsuit charging the school district with violating his rights, space in the paper was finally found for his critique of quotas and race preferences.

The school's excuse for originally spiking the piece was that there wasn't a counterpoint article available to run alongside it. This occurred several years ago, but his lawsuit continues. Its ultimate result could signal to school officials up and down the state how far they can go in playing favorites by viewpoint when they open up school newspapers to student commentary.

In addition to the head-butting over his race-quotas commentary, Smith was made to pay a price for expressing unpopular viewpoints on immigration. In the wake of Sept. 11, he submitted a commentary piece criticizing illegal immigration. "In order for a person to become a citizen they have to comply with a few very reasonable requirements," he wrote. "The first and most obvious is that you have to speak, write, and understand simple English. Second, you cannot have any felony convictions ... You must pass a test on American history and culture, and you must be patriotic .... There should be no tolerance for anyone to be an illegal immigrant. If you can't comply with our requirements, then stay out of our country."

WAS HE trying to be incendiary? No, Smith insists. "The only reason why I wrote the article and the way I wrote it ... was to get people to read it and to think about the topic I was presenting," he told the

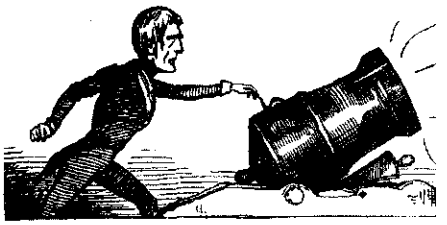
WHAT YOU HAVEN'T BEEN TOLD ABOUT GUN CONTROL

By SAM PAREDES

While the U.S. Congress moves to restore the rights of law-abiding citizens by allowing the Clinton/Feinstein Gun Ban to sunset, Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger stomps on California citizen's rights by banning .50 BMG single shot bolt action rifles. These firearms have been around for more than 81 years.

This is the first time that a single shot bolt action rifle of any kind has been banned in the state. Schwarzenegger makes history again by being the first California governor to ban a firearm that has never been used in a crime. Even former Governor Gray Davis doesn't have that distinction.

While crushing the rights of law-abiding citizens with the .50 BMG ban (AB 50 Koretz-D), Schwarzenegger signed SB 231, a bill to protect his Hollywood cronies. Sources say that without SB 231, federal firearms officials would have forced Hollywood to shut down all television and movie production using even a single firearm. TV and movie productions use real firearms even when they are modified to shoot blanks. Production companies for years have just handed the firearms over to actors — in violation of numerous state and federal laws on lending and transferring guns without background checks — with some of the actors ineligible to touch a firearm because of prior criminal convictions. SB 231 will create a system to allow the studios to comply with the law and sweeps years of previous felony violations under the rug.



Because AB 50 is so poorly crafted, .50 BMG rifle and ammunition manufacturers will be able to make ever-so-slight modifications to their guns and ammo to make a new chambering and thus completely avoid the restrictions of this new law (suggested new names include the .50 Girlie Man or the .50 CS which can stand for California Special or Chicken Schwarzenegger).

But wait! Just when you think all is lost, the Governator announces that he has vetoed SB 1152 (the ammo registration bill) and SB 1140 (the criminal storage enhancement.) And he does it for all the right reasons. Once more we see that the U.S. Constitution and the Second Amendment mystify those in power in the Golden State. Welcome to occupied Kalifornia.

Sam Paredes is executive director of Gun Owners of California.

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Fox News Channel. Indeed, the opinion piece was approved for publication in *The Buzz* by the principal and the journalism faculty adviser.

But the school changed its tune when Smith's editorial drew more jeers than cheers, not from students but from outside adult activists. The day after the piece ran, a group of these activists showed up on campus and called on students to leave class and protest Smith's message. Instead of defending a student's exercise of free speech, school officials responded by turning on him. They confiscated the remaining issues of the paper, sent a letter to parents denouncing the article, and organized public meetings at which Smith was demeaned and derided. Meanwhile, taunts and threats greeted him outside of school. He saw a side of Marin County very different from its image as a Mecca for open-minds.

To be sure, a public school isn't a forum for unrestricted speech. School officials have a duty to bar behavior and messages that by their nature threaten to incite violence. But Smith's opinion pieces didn't come near that line. He sought to contribute to rational dialogue — a fact that school officials recognized by their initial green light for his immigration editorial. That the green light gave way to flashing alarms said less about what he wrote than about the administrators' softening backbones. They let bullying opponents of his message divert them from their duty to foster an open and civil educational environment.

Smith has been out of school (and in the Marines) for two years, but he thinks his lawsuit is too important to let drop. A mediation before a former California appeal court judge is scheduled for October. Smith still seeks a clear judicial declaration that his rights were violated when the rule of the mob was allowed to supplant the rule of the First Amendment. If he gets his way, the administrators who gave him a tutorial in intolerance will receive a schooling in the importance of free thought and free speech. CPR

ON CAMPUS

Stand a little less between us and the Sun

If academia has its way, the next American generation not only won't experience freedom directly, it won't even learn about it conceptually.

MICHAEL P. DAVIDSON

I OFTEN WONDER if other political junkies, like me, or even just normal people who pay little attention to politics, have known a moment when they really *experienced* freedom. I don't mean understanding it conceptually or learning the history of our country and its foundations in liberty. I mean an experience of freedom while you are in fact free, something of the experience of people who flee oppression to come here. I'm talking, I guess, about an experience like appreciating the light of a flashlight in broad daylight ... but humor me.

Such an experience would be something recalled fondly, as profoundly moving and inspirational — the way one remembers their first love, first Communion (for us Catholics), first religious experience, first drive after one earns a driver's license, first day of college, senior prom, wedding, or first born child. After all, freedom is the source and the guarantor of those milestones.

My experience came when I was pretty young. Several years ago, I competed intensely in both wrestling and judo — until I injured my back. This activity brought me an opportunity to train and compete in the former Soviet Union and other countries of the former Soviet Bloc. Early on each trip, I grew homesick, missing the food, weather, and more comfortable living arrangements the USA provides. But during one of my trips, I was strick-

Recent University of California, Berkeley, graduate Michael P. Davidson is serving his second term as state chairman of the California College Republicans (www.collegegop.org).

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en with the most profound homesickness.

Part of the arrangement with our competitors was that the athletes trade "warm-ups" — uniform clothing worn while preparing for competition. I was given the Russian warm-up as a gift, and I gave one of the Russian competitors my USA warm-ups. I decided to put his on and, accompanied by my translator, walk around town to blend in. In Red Square, a military officer approached us. I don't speak or understand Russian, but it sounded to me like he said "American."

THE TRANSLATOR informed me that the soldier wanted to know if I'm an American, which surprised me. I thought I was incognito. The translator relayed my confusion and turned back to me: "Americans are often told this. He said he could tell you're an American because you walk like you're free."

Americans walk like they're free. I never forgot it.

Since then, I've never wavered in loving my country. In fact, I think that one freedom experience in my youth inoculated me from the many attempts at brainwashing at the University of California, Berkeley, where I attended school.

At a young age, I was fortunate enough to be shown the real meaning of the phrase: Land of the Free. Ronald Reagan captured it in his January 11, 1989, Farewell Address:

> I've been reflecting on what the past eight years have meant and mean. And the image that comes to mind like a refrain is a nautical one — a small story about a big ship, and a refugee and a sailor ... the sailor, like most American servicemen, was young, smart, and fiercely observant. The crew spied on the horizon a leaky little boat. And crammed inside were refugees from Indochina hoping to get to America. The Midway sent a small launch to bring them to the ship and safety. As the refugees made their way through the choppy seas, one spied the sailor on deck and stood up and called out to him. He yelled, "Hello, American sailor. Hello, freedom man."
>
> A small moment with a big meaning, a moment the sailor, who wrote it in a letter, couldn't get out of his mind. And when I saw it, neither could I. Because that's what it was to be an American in the 1980s. We stood, again, for freedom. I know we always have, but in the past few years the world again, and in a way, we ourselves rediscovered it.

Imagine what it would be like to be told you walk like you're free, or to be called Freedom Man by one who has never experienced freedom. We do not usually *experience* freedom *per se;* rather, we learn about it. We are taught what it means to be an American, taught the ideals of the Founding Fathers manifested in the constitutional principles of freedom and liberty. Even then, it seems Americans learn this only as young children. When they grow old enough actually to be able to develop a political philosophy, nothing of the sort is taught. On most college campuses, young Americans are taught by some that the Land of the Free is some distant or delusional utopia that was never realized; we're the land of the oppressed, greedy, and imperialistic. We essentially learn that there is no powerful virtue but mostly vice in American ideals. The American Dream is a nightmare.

Kerry's Horse

From out the presidential bickering
Comes word: America's light is flickering
And things look mighty grim. All this we know
Because John Edwards tells us that it's so.
When John was growing up America's light
Across the world was shining very bright
Forget John Kerry's war in Vietnam
Forget the cold war, the Watergate scam,
Forget the Bay of Pigs, the Berlin Wall,
John Kennedy's assassination. All
These events to Edwards grow pale today
Beside the failures of George Bush's stay.
The light in Reagan's city on a hill,
Freedom's symbol to many nation's still,
That shone so brightly, now in Edward's view
Grows dim. Alas! Alack! What's there to do?
Edwards' advice: "We must not stay the course.
Our only hope is switch to Kerry's horse."
Still, one must wonder at the message Kerry sends
When voters see he lights his candles at both ends.

— by Joy Skilmer*

** The political verse of Joy Skilmer, né Lyn Nofziger, is available at both Barnes and Noble.com and Amazon.com and from MND Publishing, 573 Marina Rd., Deatsville, AL 36022. Keep up with Lyn's "musings" at: www.lynnofziger.com*

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Besides the curriculum and the overall intellectual and social milieu on most college campuses, there is the perversion of the ideal of "free speech" into its opposite: a safe harbor of and for liberal conformity, a strikingly homogeneous "diversity." For example, the University of California, Berkeley, is holding a rally to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the Free Speech Movement. The event will feature a dissection of the Patriot Act with Howard Dean and a discussion of "reproductive rights" with Planned Parenthood. That sort of setting exclusively embraces leftist ideas of collectivism, affirmative action, negotiating with terrorists, world courts, Palestinian bias, unionization, Communism, pacifism, moral relativism — all the while breathing fire and brimstone at any divergence from the party line ... and that's what they call free speech.

So the generation now in college, the next American generation, not only won't experience freedom directly, it won't even learn about it conceptually. Thus this generation, to the extent the campus left succeeds, will enter into an American society they neither value nor appreciate. They will look at it cynically and bitterly. They'll either be numb to any uniquely American goodness, or, at the least, they'll doubt any taste of freedom that may fortunately come their way. Were academia to have its way, we wouldn't even have those "small moments with big meaning" Reagan described. We would be too shadowed with doubt about America to experience them. Ironically, UC Berkeley's motto is *fiat lux* — "let there be light." A phrase from Genesis implying, rightly, that college is supposed to be enlightening and to lead us to bright futures. Berkeley reality is more like "let's smother light." But the problem is not unique to Berkeley.

I REMEMBER a College Republican who told me that it took until her senior year for her to see the light. She was lucky. She remembers, while in college, doubting everything she believed growing up. College undermined her belief in God and turned her pride in country to disgust. (Granted, we all should challenge our beliefs with reasoned and balanced discourse. But these campuses offer neither reason nor balance.) That student didn't realize how led astray she was until she experienced freedom in a simple, but nonetheless profound way — at a College Republican meeting. A free citizen of a free country, she was startled to find herself able to speak her mind aloud without fear of retribution, losing friends, or receiving a failing grade. College Republicans helped her make her way back to the light.

When Alexander the Great visited the philosopher Diogenes, he asked if he could do anything for him. Diogenes replied: "Yes, stand a little less between me and the sun" — just what we College Republicans say to the cold, bitter souls who would block from us the warm, light rays of freedom. CPR

THE WORKING PRESS

Playing dumb about liberal bias

CBS's Blue Ribbon panel to investigate Rathergate consists of a domesticated Republican and a veteran of media bias whitewash operations.

GEORGE NEUMAYR

DO BLUE-RIBBON PANELS on journalistic fraud stop fraud or perpetuate it under the guise of respectability? Usually the latter, since they don't challenge the central fraud of the dominant media: the corrupting liberal bias it routinely smuggles into "straight" news coverage and newsroom practices.

Mr. George Neumayr is California Political Review's *press critic.*

CBS decided under public pressure in September that its viewers deserved to know whether or not CBS's chief news reader was a crook. It rapidly convened a blue-ribbon panel of two people to investigate Rathergate. CBS selected a domesticated Republican, Dick Thornburgh, and an establishment liberal, Louis D. Boccardi (also a friend of Dan Rather).

Boccardi used to run the Associated Press. He is also a veteran of the bias-denying panel the *New York*

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Times cobbled together in the wake of the Jayson Blair debacle. Blair is the hoaxster who benefited from the *New York Times's* obsession with minority recruitment. The panel on which Boccardi served deliberately downplayed the obvious role affirmative action played in abetting Blair's fraud and incompetence. The panel produced the Siegal Report which gave *New York Times* editor Bill Keller quasi-official cover to deny loudly that the black reporter's improbable rise at the paper stemmed from the paper's diversity-at-all-costs program. Keller's first act as editor was not to end the fakery but extend it, saying that the Siegal Report showed the "fraud Jayson Blair committed on us and our readers was not a consequence of our diversity program."

This was false reporting, as even Keller's predecessor Howell Raines knew. Raines had already acknowledged that his white guilt, nurtured in Alabama, blinded him to Blair's numerous acts of malpractice: "[You] have a right to ask if I, as a white man from Alabama, with those convictions, gave him one chance too many by not stopping his appointment to the sniper team. When I look into my heart for the truth of that, the answer is yes."

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The *New York Times* turned to establishment types like Boccardi to overlook its racial favoritism. Similarly, CBS turns to Boccardi to overlook its bias toward the Democrat Party. We can expect the same beside-the-point conclusions from the CBS panel as the ones produced by the Siegal Report — that bureaucracy, not bias, explains the scandal, that "competitive pressures caused a lack of judgment," and so on. These panels are expert at overlooking the obvious. They never conclude that liberals lack objectivity, because they start with the unchallenged dogma that objectivity is liberalism itself. The problem is never liberal bias, just that reporters made this or that "good-faith mistake" which can easily be remedied by hiring more liberal ombudsmen to patrol the newsroom.

In Jayson Blair's case, the panel went so far as to rationalize the promotion of incompetent minority reporters in the name of liberal justice. The Siegal Report concluded with a preposterously inappropriate "Note on Affirmative Action" that contained a more outrageous claim than any found in Jayson Blair's reporting: "The *Times's* recruitment occurs mainly within the context of the American culture, with all of the extraordinary freight that it has accumulated in the 400 years since Europeans first set foot on this continent and encountered the people who already lived here. Essentially that culture taught that white men were the only people qualified to carry out the serious business of the world." Meaning: Even if Jayson Blair was a product of our affirmative action policies that lower standards, we will continue them to right the wrongs of Western Civilization.

Boccardi wouldn't have lasted long on the *New York Times* panel if he had said, "*The New York Times* should not be a minority jobs program." Like the *Times,* CBS knows that Boccardi won't draw attention to issues that upset the liberal elite. It can count on him to avert his gaze rather than notice that the network is so in the tank for the Democrats that its producers moonlight as matchmakers for like-minded Democrats (Rather producer Mary Mapes had Kerry spokesman Joe Lockhart call Bill Burkett, the conduit of the forgery).

There is a Democrat donkey loose in the CBS newsroom, but its blue-ribbon panel isn't likely to see it no matter how much manure accumulates.

* * *

After the exposure of CBS's forgery, Dan Rather relied on the Noble Lie — the now-famous "fake but

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accurate" defense. Then he played the Noble Victim, blaming the fiasco on a source that "misled" him. "I find we have been misled on the key question of how our source for the documents came into possession of these papers," he says. "That, combined with some of the questions that have been raised in public and in the press, leads me to a point where — if I knew then what I know now — I would not have gone ahead with the story as it was aired, and I certainly would not have used the documents in question."

But Rather reminded the public that his forgery was conducted in the highest traditions of CBS. That is, his "mistake" in "good faith" was undertaken in the "spirit of trying to carry on a CBS News tradition of investigative reporting without fear or favoritism." His report was certainly in the spirit of CBS under him — the inevitable pile-up after decades of gunning it at Republican presidents using propaganda shoveled to him by Democrat hacks (Bill Burkett had been discredited long before Rather says he "misled" him).

RATHER ALSO tried a CBS-is-on-the-right-side-of-history defense in the pages of the *New York Observer:* "I think over the long haul, this will be consistent with our history and our traditions and reputation ... We took heat during the McCarthy time, during civil rights, during Watergate. We haven't always been right, but our record is damn good." In other words: Don't shoot at me; I, Dan Rather, am in the white hat, on the liberal side of history, telling fake-but-accurate stories to the unwashed for their own good.

Even more remarkably, a CBS producer said in the *Washington Post* that the forgery fiasco was the White House's fault: it should have alerted CBS to Rather's false documents after White House officials were given a chance to review them. Yes, perhaps the White House should have said to Rather and CBS: "Don't go with this report. It is not worth destroying your reputation just to nail the president on a missed physical examination. Whatever he did or didn't do in the National Guard, it paled in comparison with, say, forging government documents and passing them off on the nightly news."

The New Yorker magazine hosted Rather at a festival in the wake of his disgrace. As C-SPAN coverage showed, *New Yorker* readers applauded him boisterously for palming off a forgery on the American people. One *New Yorker* reader held in her hand Rather's book, *The Camera Doesn't Blink,* as if it were Holy Writ.

The audience regarded Rather as a persecuted nobleman, the subject of an Internet "political jihad," according to Tom Brokaw (also featured at the festival). How was Rather supposed to know that Burkett wasn't an unimpeachable source? After all, Burkett had proven his sterling credentials to Rather with his obviously well-sourced story about finding damning Bush documents in a dumpster behind National Guard headquarters in Texas. Moreover, Burkett's lawyer, David Van Os, is a former chairman of the Travis County Democrat Party. Rather knows personally that Travis County Democrats are salt-of-the-earth people: He raised $20,000 for them in 2001.

Then as now, he had no idea he was being victimized by Democrats, even though his daughter Robin had co-hosted the fundraiser. Evidently she misled him too. Rather, as an accomplished Texas Democrat fundraiser, has a direct tie to the Democrat circle from which the forgery came. But in the best CBS traditions of playing dumb about liberal bias, its blue-ribbon panel isn't likely to treat that as part of the story. CPR

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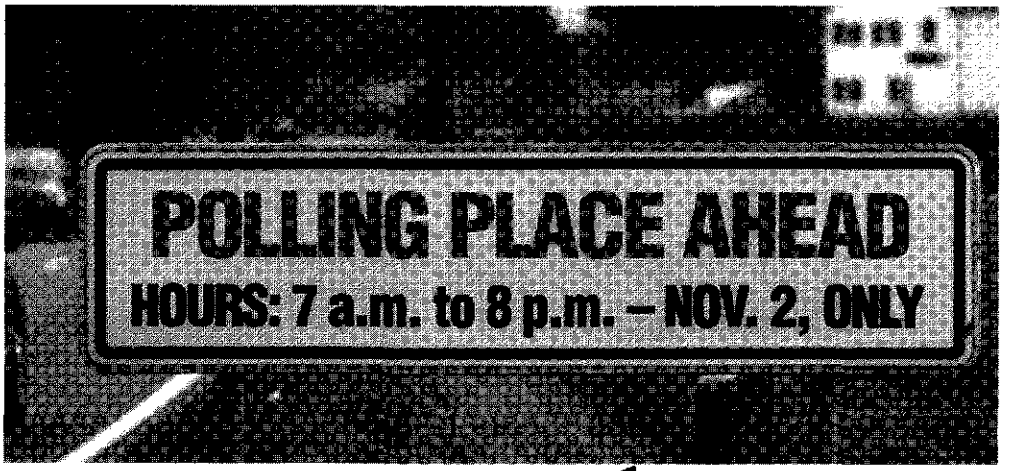
Recall



Round II

Will voters make the Schwarzenegger revolution permanent?

William E. Saracino

Many trees have given their lives so political pundits can declare California "out of play" in this year's presidential election. That actually is probably a correct judgment, but for different reasons then our chattering class advances. But even minus a hot race at the presidential level, Californians will decide a plethora of competitive elections — enough to keep even the most fervid political junkie interested and occupied.

PRESIDENT

Most political *cognoscenti,* assuming Kerry has a lock on the state, declare California irrelevant in the presidential election. That is not entirely true. A Field Poll taken shortly before the first presidential debate showed Kerry up 8 points here, 49 to 41 percent. Despite Bush's lackluster debate performance, Field's post-debate sampling showed an identical result. Surveys taken after Bush's stronger performances in debates two and three also showed little change.

William E. Saracino is a member of CPR's *editorial board.*

The good news for Republicans is that this suggests the president does indeed have room to maneuver in California and give Kerry a race for the state. The bad news for Republicans is that the Bush campaign has many more attractive options for their dollars in the Midwest, Pennsylvania, and Florida. The commentators who declare California irrelevant in the presidential derby are right to this extent: The only way President Bush could be close enough in California to contest it (with the extra cash to do so) would be if he finds himself so far ahead in the rest of the country that the election is effectively over anyway. Otherwise neither Kerry nor Bush will be spending much time or money here. To put it another way, if Bush carries California, it would be his 35th or 37th state, providing his 400th or so electoral vote. It is highly unlikely that Bush electoral vote number 270 will come from here.

U.S. SENATOR

Among those rooting for a scenario in which President Bush seriously contests California, nobody has a more direct stake in that happening than Bill Jones,

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the Republican nominee for United State Senator. One of the most likable men in politics, Jones is looking to cap a long career in the state Legislature by moving up to the world's greatest legislative body. Lightening will have to strike for that to happen — but that's not out of the question.

Even given California's drift to the left in the '90s (a drift some say ended with the combined Schwarzenegger/McClintock 61 percent gubernatorial recall vote), Barbara Boxer is outside the political mainstream. For all the 12 years she has inflicted herself on California Boxer has rated among the nation's five most liberal senators. Not just anti-life, she is affirmatively pro-abortion. Not just anti-gun, she wages an ongoing *jihad* against all private ownership of firearms. Not just anti-defense, she is so deeply anti-military she makes John Kerry look like Barry Goldwater.

Bill Jones, her opponent, is a mild-mannered, principled, mainstream conservative. His reputation in the Legislature as a "moderate" derived more from his demeanor than his voting record. Jones has a "come let us reason together" personality, but his "aye" or "nay" votes were almost always cast on the conservative side. I got to know Jones somewhat during my years in Sacramento. He is a thoughtful, principled, gracious gentleman.

If President Bush were forcefully contesting California, Jones would have a real chance of sending Boxer back to whatever San Francisco coven spewed her forth. With proper financing, Jones could easily show a majority of voters that he, not she, is more closely aligned with their beliefs, particularly in a post-recall political climate. As of this writing in early October, whether he is able to marshal the necessary finances remains an open question. But if he does, or if the president makes a late effort to carry the state, this race could end up a lot closer than current forecasts indicate.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

California has only two competitive House races: one in the Fresno-area 20th congressional district, the other in the 29th C.D. in northeast Los Angeles County.

DISTRICT 20 *Reg: D 51.49%; R 36.47%; DS 9.1%*

Incumbent: Open seat — Cal Dooley (D), retiring

The open-seat 20th features a joust of two veteran politicos: former state Senator Jim Costa carrying the Donkey Party colors vs. current state Senator Roy Ashburn entering the lists as the Pachyderm champion. Of the Central Valley's 10 congressional districts, all but two — Robert Matsui's atypically urban 5th (almost totally within the city of Sacramento) and moderate Democrat Dennis Cardoza's 18th — have, over the last decade, become increasingly rock-sold Republican. Of the other eight districts, the 20th is the last Democrat holdout, even though it has been trending Republican along with the rest of the valley.

Democrats had a lock on the district as long as current incumbent Cal Dooley ran, but his decision to retire rather then face increasingly difficult re-election fights put the district up for grabs. The Democrats thought the entrance of long-time office-holder Costa put the district safely back in their pocket, but that is not how the campaign has played out.

Republican Roy Ashburn's years representing the area — six in the Assembly and two in the state Senate — have built him a loyal core of supporters. Additionally, political careerist Costa's long voting history inevitably includes a supply of liberal and controversial votes that has allowed Ashburn, by focusing voters' attention on certain of them, to keep Costa from running away with the race — a conclusion confirmed by the National Republican Congressional Committee, which has reserved an additional $240,000 in TV time in the district, on top of the $206,000 in ads the NRCC has already purchased. Having run congressional races, I know the NRCC does not pour good money after bad, and will not renew

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a commitment in a district without promising survey numbers to support the expenditure. This district gave Al Gore 55 percent support in 2000, but it is socially conservative. Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger and Tom McClintock combined for *65 percent* of the vote here during the recall. All of this is exciting for Republicans, and nerve-wracking for Democrats, who see this seat they thought was safely in hand continue to hang in the balance. If Costa does manage to win, he will be the last Democrat to hold this seat: not even King Canute (look it up!) could hold back the surging Republican tide in this heart of the ever-more-loyal GOP Central Valley.

If Costa does manage to win, he will be the last Democrat to hold this seat: not even King Canute (look it up!) could hold back the surging Republican tide in this heart of the loyal GOP Central Valley.

DISTRICT 29 ***Reg: D 44.11%; R 33.95%; DS 19.44%***
Incumbent: Adam Schiff (D)

Los Angeles County's 29th C.D. in some ways mirrors the 20th. Formerly loyal GOP turf, it has experienced more than a decade of eroding Republican registration and success at the polls. Encompassing Burbank, Glendale, Pasadena, and several small San Gabriel Valley cities, the 29th is now represented by ultra-liberal Democrat Adam Schiff. Schiff took this seat by beating Republican incumbent Jim Rogan in 2000 with an exceptionally mean-spirited, mendacious campaign.

Republicans have an opportunity to retake the district this year, due to a combination of favorable circumstances. Because of hard work by the local central committees, GOP registration has been edging up in the district and is now less than 10 percent behind the Democrats. Many of the Democrats are Latino or Asian, and therefore conservative on social issues. Most importantly, Republicans nominated an exceptional candidate, Harry Scolinos.

I got to know Harry in the primary election (I did some campaign work for him, but have no affiliation with the campaign now), and his combination of Reaganesque optimism, good humor, and innate decency make him easy to like. Scolinos is exactly the kind of candidate term limits was supposed to encourage: a successful businessman who has lived in the real world, raised his family, and is now ready to contribute his private sector acumen to the workings of government. Given financing sufficient to enable Scolinos to tell his story, this background, along with his mainstream conservative views, ought to contrast nicely with Schiff's biography as a trial-lawyering career politician with a knee-jerk liberal political philosophy.

The Los Angeles County Republican organization is being revitalized by new Chairman Linda Boyd, seeking to emulate Chairman Ron Nehring's success in San Diego. Boyd raised more money for the committee in her first six months than previous management had raised in four years. She has returned to political basics: registration, voter i.d., and turnout. Given Schiff's incumbency advantages and his ability to call upon his fellow ambulance chasers for financing, a strong L.A. County organization is a must to keep Scolinos in the race.

And, as this is written, Scolinos *is* in the race. Given a few breaks, he could make Schiff

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wish he had spent less time planning a 2006 run for state Attorney General and more campaigning for re-election to congress. Schiff still must be rated the favorite, but the district remains in play.

STATE LEGISLATURE

Under orders from the Bush White House, Republicans in the Legislature agreed to a "hold the *status quo*" redistricting in 2001, aimed at maintaining the partisan balances that then existed in both legislative houses and the state's congressional delegation. The White House was concerned that a Democrat gerrymander (remember pencil-neck Gray was then governor and would certainly have signed any redistricting plan sent to him) could cost the GOP four to five seats in California, endangering continued Republican control of the House of Representatives.

Congressional elections, with the two exceptions noted above, have maintained the *status quo,* according to plan. But voters had different ideas when it came to the Legislature. The 2002 elections produced GOP pick-ups of one senate and two assembly seats drawn to be safely Democrat for at least most of this decade. And this year offers at least the promise of further erosion of Democrat legislative hegemony.

STATE SENATE

Three of the 20 Senate seats up this year are in play to one degree or another. The districts — in San Diego, along the central coast, and in the Central Valley — cover a wide range of political ideology and California geography.

DISTRICT 5 *Reg: D 45.37%; R 36.47%; DS 14.11%*
Incumbent: Mike Machado (D)

The 5th S.D. covers a broad swath of the Central Valley, from Tracy and Stockton up to Woodland and Yolo County north of Sacramento. While the 5th is becoming increasingly urban, the heart of the district remains agricultural. Democrat incumbent Mike Machado won a close race here four years ago, and all indications are that he is in for another cliff hanger.

Machado masquerades as a member of the mythical species "moderate Democrat." He occasionally throws business and law enforcement a vote, but when the chips are down he always reverts to party loyalty. In Sacramento that means far-left orthodoxy. Nonetheless, he is an effective politician who convincingly wears the bib overalls and chews the hay sprouts back in the district when necessary.

When the chips are down Machado always reverts to far-left orthodoxy. Nonetheless, he is an effective politician who convincingly wears the bib overalls and chews the hay sprouts back in the district when necessary.

Stockton's Republican Mayor Gary Podesto is trying to rip away the mask. Podesto's Stockton base gives him several advantages. The city is a major population center in the district, and Podesto has proven himself a popular figure (at least in non-partisan elections) even with an electorate containing strong pockets of loyal Democrats. As a mayor he can point to specific accomplishments of his own, whereas legislators like Machado usually have to share the glory with their colleagues. Additionally, serving as a low-tax, pro-business mayor has made him a favorite of local financier Alex Spanos, so Podesto should not face quite the severe funding disparity that often afflicts GOP legislative candidates even in targeted races. This is likely to be the state's most expensive legislative race, with both sides expected to spend several mil-

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lion dollars. Outgoing Senate President Pro-Tem John Burton has very deep pockets, and he and successor Don Parata will spend whatever they think it takes to re-elect Machado. Podesto can counter at least some of that with support from Spanos and Governor Schwarzenegger, who has already appeared for the mayor and is expected back in the district at least once more before the election. Podesto will also benefit from the effective grassroots organization set up in the southern part of the district by former Assemblyman and Board of Equalization member Dean Andal.

At this writing the race is a true toss-up, and the winner will likely be whichever campaign has the most effective ground game come election day.

DISTRICT 15 *Reg: D 39.54%; R 38.45%; DS 17.13%*

Incumbent: Open seat — Bruce McPherson (R), termed out

Redistricting drastically changed the 15th state senate district from that which elected current (termed-out) incumbent Republican Bruce McPherson. The district now stretches from northern Santa Barbara county in the south, up through San Luis Obispo, Monterey, and Santa Cruz Counties, then juts inland to take in the southeastern portion of Santa Clara County. The district was drawn to elect a Republican (registration is basically even and Gore beat Bush here in 2000 by only 1.5 percent), and while that is still the most likely outcome the Democrats clearly think they might be able to snatch this from the GOP.

Republican nominee, Assemblyman Abel Maldonado, was considered the prohibitive early favorite to take the seat. Maldonado has three times won easy election to the Assembly from the southern part of the district, which is centered in San Luis Obispo County. He has been raising money for the senate campaign for several years, and started with a bank account in the high six figures. While basically conservative, he has carefully cultivated a moderate image on some issues, presumably in preparation for running in a district matching the political contours of the new 15th S.D. He has good name identification in the part of the district he represents, has able management in veteran Jim Nygren, and enjoys registration parity with the Democrats that even most Republican incumbents would envy.

But for all this, Democrat nominee Peg Pinard, helped by a big assist from the state Democrat party, is making a race here. Pinard is a former mayor of the city of San Luis Obispo and current member of the county board of supervisors. A fairly down-the-line doctrinaire liberal, she was able to win the supervisor race because her district includes Cal-Poly SLO. The university won't play so large a part in the senate race, but she is described as an able, down-to-earth campaigner who connects to voters easily. She began as a sacrificial lamb expected to be little more than a nuisance to Maldonado, but the Democrat Party's $1 million investment in her campaign makes Pinard a serious threat.

Political strategists familiar with legislative campaigns statewide interpret the $1 million as a Democrat attempt to divert GOP money from Machado/Podesto and Kehoe/Stirling (see below) rather than as a serious sign they think Pinard can win a district that nearly voted for George Bush four years ago. For one thing, the best way for Democrats to snatch this seat would be by stealth, sneaking up on an overconfident, somnambulant Maldonado campaign. One million dollars appearing in your opponent's campaign treasury tends to serve as an effective wake-up call. However, to coin a phrase, $1 million ain't hay, and, whatever its motivation, the Democrat funding certainly elevated this race on GOP radar screens, which should be a plus for Maldonado. His cam-

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paign is now neither overconfident nor complacent. The Republicans clearly have the advantage here, but this cannot yet be put in the "safe" category by the GOP.

DISTRICT 39 ***Reg: D 40.65%; R 33.78%; DS 21.65%***

Incumbent: Open seat — Dede Alpert (D), termed out.

The 39th district includes most of the city of San Diego and a couple of much smaller municipalities around it. Whereas the 15th district was drawn to elect a Republican — and yet could be proving an opportunity for the Democrats — this district is precisely the opposite. It was drawn specifically for Democrat Assemblywoman Christine Kehoe, who is now the Democrat nominee here. According to the line-drawers' wisdom, she ought to have clear sailing to a November victory, but she may not. The district has what by 2004 California standards is "fair to middlin'" GOP registration of 34 percent, but the Democrats also lag, holding only 41 percent. "Decline to State" registration is among the highest in the state, at around 20 percent. These "independents," however, often behave like Democrats, as attested by the 55 to 40 percent thumping Gore administered here to Bush in 2000.

What makes the district a GOP possibility is the candidate match up. Kehoe, who also served on the San Diego City Council, is one of the Assembly's most acerbically liberal and openly anti-business Democrats.

She is opposed by Republican former Assemblyman and judge, Larry Stirling. Stirling had a long career representing parts of this district in the Assembly, always winning by comfortable margins, before he retired to take a seat on the bench. He was Republican caucus chairman when I served as caucus chief of staff. He shone as a superstar even in a leadership full of exceptionally bright, energetic people.

Well read, well spoken, and well versed in classical governing theory, Stirling, given adequate financing, could be a fearsome opponent to Kehoe, his polar opposite as a very liberal, very shallow, and very shrill ideologue. A Kehoe victory over an under-funded Stirling would validate the wisdom of the Democrats' million dollar investment against Abel Maldonado in the 15th district. It's up to the state GOP (and/or the appropriate independent expenditure committees) to decide whether or not to default this district to the Democrats through inadequate funding.

Kehoe is one of the Assembly's most acerbically liberal and openly anti-business Democrats. She is opposed by Republican former Assemblyman and judge, Larry Stirling.

On a personal note, I'd like to add that I served with the good, the bad, and the ugly during my time with the caucus. Larry Stirling was always a class act, always reliable, and always willing to take a tough stand if he thought it was right — all qualities more needed, and harder to find, in political office holders than in just about any other profession.

STATE ASSEMBLY

The Republican opportunity in Assembly races is illustrated by a stark statistic: of six districts most likely to change partisan hands, five are currently held by Democrats. Oddly enough, two of them are contiguous in the Central Valley while two are contiguous in Los Angeles County's South Bay area. The last two are widely separated: one is on the Mexican border, the other in Silicon Valley. The dis-

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tricts to watch, then, moving from south to north, are:

DISTRICT 78 *Reg: D 42%; R 35%; DS 23%*

Incumbent: Shirley Horton (R).

The only Republican-held district currently in play is western San Diego County's 78th. Held by first-term Republican Shirley Horton, this district was one of the few actually drawn with the expectation it would be competitive between the two parties. Like the 39th Senate District, major party registration lags (D-42 percent; R-35 percent), while "Decline to State" numbers continue to (DTS-23 percent). Also like the 39th, this district's "independent" voters tend to behave like Democrats in the voting booth. Gore swamped Bush here in 2004, and the Schwarzenegger/McClintock combined recall vote (55 percent) was among the lowest in Southern California.

Horton's standard moderate GOP mix of pro-business views with a liberal social agenda seemed to fit the district in 2002, when most observers were surprised by her win, in spite of the swing nature of the district. The Democrats might make noises about capturing other GOP districts, most notably the neighboring 80th held by Bonnie Garcia, but this is their only realistic shot of beating a Republican incumbent.

To do so they have nominated Patty Davis, a member of the Bonita City Council. Given the usual Democrat advantage in funding and the fickle nature of the districts' voters, Davis cannot be ignored, especially if President Bush and Bill Jones suffer massive defeats at the top of the ticket. Even in that circumstance though, Horton and her campaign team showed moxie in winning this seat the first time and have to be rated the favorites to retain it now.

DISTRICT 54 *Reg: D 43.61%; R 35.70%; DS 15.98%*

Incumbent: Open seat — Alan Lowenthal (D), termed out.

Moving north into Los Angeles County takes us to the 54th district, currently held by termed-out Democrat Alan Lowenthal. This Long Beach-centered district features a grudge rematch between state Senator Betty Karnette and former Assemblyman and Congressman Steve Kuykendall. In 1994, it was Kuykendall's victory over Karnette that gave the GOP control of the Assembly. That victory, as well as Kuykendall's congressional wins, were all close, and he eventually lost to the deep pockets of Congresswoman Jane Harman.

A current joke holds that the presidential race will be decided by the 17 undecided voters who currently remain in Ohio and Florida. The same could be said for this district. Both Kuykendall and Karnette are so well known by most voters there are few undecideds left to convince. Nonetheless both parties are spending freely here, aiming at what could also be about 17 votes. Victory will most likely go to the campaign that is most efficient at getting its already decided voters to the polls.

DISTRICT 53 *Reg: D 40.91%; R 35.13%; DS 19.20%*

Incumbent: Open seat — George Nakano (D), termed out.

Next door is the 53rd district, dominated by the beach cities of the southern Santa Monica Bay. Democrat George Nakano is being forced out by term limits, and the two parties have nominated beach city mayors — Republican Greg Hill of Redondo Beach and Democrat Mike Gordon of El Segundo — as their standard bearers. This district actually has a more loyal GOP base than the 54th, but Kuykendall's track record has put his race above this one in the Republican pecking order. The 53rd contains only 13,000 more registered Democrats than Republicans, but that math is complicated by the nearly 20 percent of the electorate who are registered independents. Bush ran respectably here in 2000, in the low 40s.

Both Hill and Gordon are popular in their respective cities, and the race will probably turn on local concerns as much as statewide partisan issues. Some wags suggest the two mayors could most appropriately settle the issue with a

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one-on-one game of beach volleyball. At this point, a month before the election, the advantage rests with Democrat Gordon, but a decent grass roots operation, combined with adequate funding (an open question at this point), would move Hill into a position to put this seat in the GOP column.

DISTRICT 30 *Reg: D 47.46%; R 39.75%; DS 9.59%*
Incumbent: Nicole Parra (D).

The next competitive districts could not be more different from the 53rd and 54th. Both are north of the I-5 "grapevine," in the Central Valley's southern section. The 30th district, almost totally within Kern County, was won two years ago by Democrat Nicole Parrra by 266 votes over Republican Dean Gardner. Gardner and Parra face each other in a rematch this year, and all indications are that the race will be just as close.

Adding flavor — in the way jalapeno and habañero chilies add flavor (hint, they are *very* hot) — is the Democrat blood feud involving Parra and her father (a former Kern County Supervisor) against local state Senator Dean Florez. Things have become strange enough that believable rumors have surfaced about long-time Democrat strategist, Willie Brown confidant, and Florez pal Richie Ross actively helping Republican Gardner. The long series of mutations, permutations, and hairpin turns this race has seen are fascinating to watch, but impossible to describe in less than book length. The campaign has been nasty, brutish, and long. Embarrassing revelations about Gardner's past have surfaced, and Parra's voting record and her leftist past are being savaged by the GOP. Both parties are spending freely. At this point there is no way to predict a favorite, let alone a likely winner.

DISTRICT 31 *Reg: D 49.69%; R 39.05%; DS 9.26%*
Incumbent: Open seat — Sarah Reyes (D), termed out.

Adjacent to the north of the 30th is the 31st district, located mainly in Fresno county and being vacated by Democrat Sarah Reyes. Initially drawn as a safe Democrat seat with a 13 percent Democrat registration advantage over the GOP, this seat is part of the Central Valley Republican trend, as the GOP now trails the Democrats by only 10 points in registration and fewer than 10,000 actual voters. Democrats hope to hold the seat with Fresno County Supervisor Juan Arambula while Republicans look to businessman Paul Betancourt. Though a Marquis of Queensberry contest compared to the bear-knuckled 30th, this district is also a fight to the finish for the parties. The GOP believes their nearly 40 percent registration should make it theirs, while Democrats desperately want to maintain the few footholds they still have in the Valley. Arambula and Betancourt are both attractive candidates, and though Arambula will likely enjoy the typical Democrat financial advantage, Betancourt is riding a wave of local Republican enthusiasm and growth. If he can remain competitive financially, he should win.

DISTRICT 21 *Reg: D 44.55%; R 31.38%; DS 20.17%*
Incumbent: Open seat — Joe Simitian (D), running for Senate.

The final competitive race is one that was not foreseen even a year ago. The 21st district encompasses mainly wealthy areas of San Mateo and Santa Clara counties, and contains much of what is left of Silicon Valley. This is the land of Tom Campbell Republicans (former Congressman and U.S. senate candidate Campbell is currently a Stanford professor), the type who register Republican out of heritage or social status considerations, but vote Democrat out of issue considerations. In other words, the RINO (Republican In Name Only) is king here, and they have a perfect representative in GOP candidate Steve Poizner, a computer industry multi-millionaire. Opposing him for the Democrats is independent film producer and City Councilman Ira Ruskin of Redwood City.

Virtually nothing separates the candidates on social issues, while on business and tax issues Poizner tries to make the case that his business experience will help him more efficiently manage the leviathan state (which he might consider shrinking, as long as nobody suffers along the way). Given the district's demographics — a 13 percent, 33,000-voter Democrat registra-

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tion advantage — this ought to be a slam dunk for the donkeys. But Poizner has already spent $4 million of his own money, and the talk is that he will put in a total of $6.5 to $7 million. That makes him competitive and believable as a candidate, though even that might be too little to overcome this electorate's inherent Democrat bias, aided by what will surely be a Kerry-Boxer landslide locally. A polished campaigner, Poizner is using his warchest to make overt appeals for ticket splitting. If that proves to be a winning combination on election day, his positions on issues will differ no more than marginally from most Democrats, although

RINO (Republican In Name Only) is king here, and they have a perfect representative in GOP candidate Steve Poizner, a computer industry multi-millionaire.

Party loyalty may force him to support major GOP initiatives, and he would be a 41st vote to elect a Republican speaker if the GOP ever found the first 40. Nowadays that is about the most Republicans can expect from this part of the state.

CONCLUSION

An active Bush effort in California depends on his having won his re-election elsewhere, and Bill Jones very much depends on such a Bush-to-the-rescue scenario. But even without it, adequate finances would allow Jones to damage Boxer by exposing her extreme liberal voting record, out of step with Californians everywhere but the Bay Area.

The legislative races' wild card is Arnold Schwarzenegger. Still strongly popular around the state, the governor's active campaigning and money raising for Republicans could be decisive. Signs indicate he intends to be active, and, in fact, has begun already. But he'll choose his races carefully, especially close to election day, guided by polling to avoid spending political capital where he can only bring Republican candidates "close," but spending it freely where he believes he can make the difference between defeat and victory.

During the last legislative term, Democrats motivated the governor to campaign actively by dealing with him on several issues with what he considers bad faith. Coming from the film business where "handshake deals" are often the norm, he felt Democrats repeatedly double-crossed him. Additionally, Assembly Speaker Fabian Nunez recently threw several petty, personal jabs at the governor in the press (commenting pejoratively about, among other things, his tan and his hair). Sources say this has further motivated him to work to insure GOP Assembly gains. And he knows that a Democrat electoral scalp or two on his belt would be enormously helpful in maintaining the upper hand next year when "working with" the Democrat legislative majority.

A last factor to watch that could affect results in California is an early, "exit poll" call by networks of the presidential race, with the skewing of late voter turnout this always produces.

Based on an early October reading of tea leaves, look for a modest up-tick in Republican legislative fortunes. Given the Capital's even more than usually unsettled dynamics, a gain of even one seat in either chamber could significantly impact future legislation. CFR

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Spiked story

Jones vs. Boxer: A race rich in issues and a stark choice for voters receives a virtual media blackout.

John Casper

THE VOTERS' CHOICE should be simple. Bill Jones, the former secretary of state, assembly leader, rancher, farmer, and businessman represents California mainstream politics. Indeed, most consider him a moderate. Yet, he only voted for one tax increase in twelve years in the Legislature, his Second Amendment voting record was good enough to garner him the NRA endorsement when he ran for governor in 2002, he is pro-life (with the three exceptions) and strongly favors the partial birth abortion ban.

Governor Schwarzenegger came out early in the primary to endorse him. Senate Leader Bill Frist campaigned with him, as did Senators Brownback and Santorum, Energy Secretary Spence Abraham, and the most popular Republican in the nation, America's Mayor Rudy Giuliani.

Senator John McCain has campaigned for him on several occasions and is planning to do more. McCain attended fund raisers, public and private events, and gave his press secretary, Andrea Jones (the candidate's daughter), a leave of absence to work on the campaign.

On the other side is the two-term incumbent, Barbara Boxer of Marin County. Senator Boxer, on the floor of the U.S. senate, called the terrorists bombing of a train station in Madrid that killed 200 people a "rail accident." When she chaired a committee with responsibility over portions of the fight on terrorism (prior to 9/11) she claimed the committee needed to turn its attention to the world fight for "reproductive" (abortion) rights instead.

Jones versus Boxer is like Bush versus Kerry. Jones believes that American foreign policy should be made in Washington; Kerry and Boxer believe it should be made on the Hudson in New York and in foreign capitols.

Jones believes that tax policies constrict job growth; Boxer wants to use tax policy to promote "national policy" from Washington. Jones thinks the First and Second Amendments should be enforced. Boxer believes the Constitution provides mere guidelines from another era that should be corrected.

Jones believes the Senate should vote, up or down, on presidential nominees. Boxer believes that if she could lose a vote, then no member of the Senate has the right to vote.

The differences are stark and in vivid colors, not pastels. The voters of California have a clear choice, if they hear the message.

Boxer has been a consistent vote for higher taxes, less Constitutional rights, higher congressional pay but less military pay.

So, why isn't this a runaway for Bill Jones?

There are three key reasons for Jones being behind by double digits 30 days before election day.

First, Jesse Unruh was right, money is the mother's milk of politics. Though Jones has been involved in politics on a local and state level for more than 30 years, he has not built a cadre of financial supporters.

John Casper is a San Diego-based political writer.

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Then you had "Republicans" like John Chambers of Cisco, supporting Boxer and keeping Silicon Valley checkbooks closed to Jones. A look at his finance report shows the "New Majority" Republicans are scarcely to be seen giving any "real" money. The moderate and liberal finance folks did not take the lead in the race. The conservative donors also stayed back, mostly in the belief the governor was going to work his magic on the money end.

WHILE USING Anne Dunsmore, the best fund raiser in California, Jones was still not able to break open the piggybanks of the donor class. This may have to do with the second problem of the Jones campaign.

This second problem is lack of issues. Winning campaigns position their candidate to "own" an issue. While he took positions and published policy statements on the major issues of the day, his major issue has been, "Boxer represents the elites of San Francisco, not the people of California."

It took several days for Boxer to suggest that the death penalty might be a good idea for a cop killer in San Francisco. The San Francisco district attorney decided to go for life without parole. The cops were angry, the people were angry, talk radio was angry, Boxer was silent. Finally, with a little squeaky voice she said maybe the death penalty was a worthy punishment for a cop killer. Jones spoke loud and clear, got a little press and traction, and then little more.

Jones pointed out that while we were fighting a war on terror, Boxer had voted to reduce human intelligence, voted with Kerry and Edwards against the $87 billion to provide equipment and body armor for our military in Iraq and that Boxer preferred the impotent United Nations to set policy for the United States. Yet, the media failed to cover these statements, refused to attend many events or report on the differences between the candidates.

But despite all this discussion of issues and differences, no one heard. Why? Because the media refused to publish the stories, make the reports, give attention to the race. The media has two ways to harm Republican nominees. Either they misrepresent the position of the Republicans, or they simply ignore them. This gives the public the idea there is no race, so the incumbent must be OK.

Third, for good or bad, the focus of California politics is on the governor, Arnold Schwarzenegger. The media, money, and targeted efforts go where Arnold goes. In this election cycle his main interest has been the defeat of two propositions. His California Recovery Team has been raising millions for his political causes, while Jones and other candidates have seen little financial support from the governor's team. A few appearances here and there, but little more.

Yet, Schwarzenegger may have the best of reasons to win it for Jones. If the governor can win a difficult senate seat for the GOP, it will show he can win for others, making it easier to convince people that he should be allowed to run for president. Arnold Schwarzenegger at the top of the ticket would help down ticket Republicans. This is his opportunity to win one for his own future.

Can Bill Jones win in the closing days? I would answer yes. He needs one piece of luck and a strong play on the illegal alien issue.

Boxer normally runs 8 to 10 points behind the top of the Democrat ticket. In 1992, Clinton won California by 12 points and she won by two. In 1998, Davis won by 20 points; Boxor won by 12. In 2000, Bush received 41 percent of the California vote. If Bush can get to 44 or 45 percent, this will turn out to be a nail biter on election night. Beyond 45 percent, even if Bush loses the state, Jones will win. So, how Bush goes will determine Jones' fate.

The sleeper issue, from the start, has been the lack of enforcement of federal illegal alien laws. We all know the statistics: 3 million illegal aliens enter the United States each year. Emergency rooms are closing because the cost of health care for illegal aliens is too expensive. Classrooms in urban areas, and some rural ones, are crowded due to the flood of children of illegal aliens.

As Jones makes the case against amnesty, against drivers licenses, in favor of complete enforcement of our laws, the public will take notice and create an "echo" chamber, thereby having a signature issue in this race. For Jones, the contrast should be easy to make. Boxer supports amnesty, drivers licenses, acceptance of Matricula Consular cards for ID, etc. Even liberals have come to realize this is bad for our state and nation.

This is one of those issues that are clear cut and folks are getting angry. People will vote with their heads and hearts on this issue, in favor of Jones. Because this is not perceived to be a "battleground" state, this issue could explode over the last days of the campaign into a turnout maker.

JONES HAS won two statewide races in the 1990s. Both were under the radar, based on determining the targeting voters and reaching them numerous times. Few knew a race was going on till the very end. The results of November 2, 2004, may well reflect the same strategic style of his previous victorious efforts. Then the question will be, "how did this happen?" CPS

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Californians will vote November 2 on 16 initiatives that will have a major impact for years to come on the state budget, business climate, and even the electoral system. Herewith, CPR offers independent analyses of four of the more controversial measures, followed by brief information on the others. The views expressed are the authors' own.

November Ballot measures

SHAWN STEEL — THE LOUISIANA PRIMARY

Proposition 62

The November ballot's Proposition 62 would radically change California's electoral system. If passed, it could destroy all minor parties, cripple the major parties, and eviscerate political activists.

Dick Riordan and a host of moderate Republicans and wealthy Democrats financed Prop. 62 advertising the initiative as an "open primary" measure that, in fact, would impose a "Louisiana-style" non-partisan voting process in California.

Critics call it an outrage that 62 uses Louisiana's primary election law as a model for California. They point out that its author was former Creole State Governor Edwin Edwards, a Democrat, who created the system in 1975 as a means of throttling the then-emerging Louisiana Republican Party. Edwards became nationally notorious after he first beat charges of corruption in 1987, but was convicted in 2001 of racketeering, extortion, and fraud, and sentenced to 10 years in prison. In addition, opponents point out, Louisiana has a long-held reputation for corrupt "Banana Republic" politics. The primary election system Prop. 62 would bring to California, they say, permitted David Duke and Edwin Edwards to be finalists for governor in 1991 when Louisiana voters were forced to choose between a Klansman and a crook.

Shawn Steel is California Republican Party immediate past chairman and a director of the California Club for Growth.

Ten billionaires financed the proposition's qualifying signature drive. They included major DNC donor Haim Saban (Mighty Morphine Power Rangers) and key Democrat Los Angeles operative Eli Board (Broad & Kaufman, major developers).

The proposition's supporters compare 62 to the Prop. 198 "blanket primary" initiative Californians adopted in March 1996, arguing that 198 increased voter participation. A major difference with 198, however, is that under Prop. 62 official party nominees would no longer exist for any office: no Democrat candidate, no Republican candidate, no official candidate for any party at all. The primary ballot would list candidates' names, ordered randomly. Listing party affiliation would be left up to the parties. All voters, including those not affiliated with a political party, would receive the same ballot and would be allowed to vote for any candidate regardless of the candidate's party affiliation. The two candidates receiving the highest number of votes — regardless of their political party — would appear on the November election ballot.

Under Prop. 62, the two candidates qualifying for the November election would largely depend on the field of candidates running in the primary. If a statewide primary field consisted of three or more Republicans and two Democrats, for instance, the November general election would likely offer a choice between the two Democrats, because their party's votes would be split only two ways rather than three. A primary field of three or more Democrats and two Republicans, similarly, would likely mean a two Republican November run-

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off. Former Congressman Tom Campbell, author of Prop. 198, observed that, had the Louisiana-style primary been in effect for his 1992 senate race, the two candidates qualifying for the November run-off both would have been Democrats.

Besides the possibility of sharply diminished competition between the major parties, under the Louisiana plan small parties would almost certainly disappear from November ballots altogether. With even Republican and Democrat candidates sometimes unable to finish among the top two primary vote-getters, November ballot appearances by Green, Libertarian, or other third Party candidates might easily never occur again.

ONE-PARTY ENCLAVES

In Republican counties, this system will result in perpetual internal warfare where two Republicans vie for election in November legislative run-offs. The same is true in urban areas for Democrats. In many coastal urban counties, Republicans may be totally eliminated from the November ballot. Run-offs in many of these legislative races will involve only two Democrats. The state will likely become a series of one-Party enclaves with ideological factions battling within district lines to win elections. Anyone not a member of an area's dominant party will be discouraged from participating in the democratic process by fielding candidates, registering voters, encouraging voting, or even voting themselves.

Prop. 62 is the most important political proposition of the last 10 years. It could marginalize parties, reduce new ideas in the political process, and allow wealthy personality cults to dominate California politics.

RAY HAYNES — CLONE AND KILL

Proposition 71

Stem cell research generates more misinformation than any other single issue in the current public debate. The debate is usually cast in terms of being pro- or anti-science and progress. But you can be concerned about the direction of some of the research and still promote scientific progress.

The major source of confusion is that there are two distinctly different types of stem cell research. The first — human somatic stem cell research (SSC) — holds great promise for medical science and human health. The second — human embryonic stem cell research (ESC) — is a monumental failure with little promise of help or advancement in promoting the health of people. Companies engaged in SSC research have been able to raise millions in the private sector because the promise of profit is real. Companies engaged in ESC are struggling, and are now trying to use the success of SSC to get voters to approve billions in borrowing (to keep them in business) through Proposition 71.

Ray Haynes represents California's 66th Assembly District.

Somatic stem cells, sometimes called "adult" stem cells, are available from a variety of sources: umbilical cord blood, nasal tissue, bone marrow, fat cells, and the like. These stem cells are taken without harm to the donor, and they have resulted in some amazing advancements. Everybody supports SSC research because it shows great promise. Its success is best measured by the support it receives in actual research dollars. Private capital is investing heavily in it in the firm belief the medical advances SSC research can generate are real and will therefore generate profits.

In contrast, embryonic stem cells have one source: cloning. The researchers create a human being through an embryo, kill the embryo, then extract the stem cells. Aside from the moral depravity of creating a human being for the sole purpose of killing it to facilitate Hitlerian/concentration camp-style research, ESC has failed to generate a single medical advancement. In fact, private capital, perhaps the best test of profitable research, won't go near ESC, knowing it is a losing proposition.

Enter Prop. 71. Put on the ballot to generate venture capital for ESC, it directs state government to borrow $3 billion, lend it to ESC researchers, who are to repay the loan from their future profits. Of course, if such profits were at all likely to materialize, no government money would be necessary. This measure directs California taxpayers to finance failed research with borrowed money.

Its supporters argue for this initiative by emphasizing the advancements SSC research has made in medical science. But Prop. 71 won't allow the state to invest in SSC research, only ESC; won't allow the state to participate in the profits (only to lend the money); and provides no serious legislative or judicial oversight.

JOHN KURZWEIL — THREE STRIKES

Proposition 66

The November ballot's Proposition 66 would rewrite key parts of the state's 3 strikes law, which requires lengthy prison sentences following a third felony conviction for defendants convicted of two previous violent or serious felonies. The measure would redefine several crimes now considered "vi-

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olent" or "serious," removing such designation, as well as require that only violent or serious felonies be counted as third strikes.

Proponents Ramona Ripston, executive director of the Southern California A.C.L.U., and Assemblyman Mark Leno (D-San Francisco) emphasize the current law's provision that strike three need not be violent: "California is the only state with a Three Strike law that can send someone to prison for life for stealing a loaf of bread," Ripston and Leno wrote in California's official voter guide. However, 66 does more than merely require a serious or violent strike three. Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger and Attorney General Bill Lockyer argue in their ballot pamphlet statement opposing the measure that under 66 "arson, residential burglary, attempted burglary, criminal threats, felony gang crimes, and felonies like drunk driving in which innocent people are seriously hurt or killed will no longer be considered 'strikes.'" They point out, in addition, that "juvenile sex offenders will no longer receive a strike for seriously injuring an elderly or disabled person during an assault with intent to commit rape."

Republican U.S. Senate nominee Bill Jones criticized Prop. 66, saying "We have been able to reduce the crime problem dramatically with the three strikes, a 46 percent overall reduction in crime, 2 million fewer victims, burglary dropped to the lowest level since 1957."

John Kurzweil is editor of California Political Review.

GREGORY SANFORD

STATE HEALTH CARE

Proposition 72

Proposition 72 is that rare specimen — a referendum — that places on the ballot for popular approval or disapproval a law enacted by state government to which a significant portion of the populace objects. Referenda leave it is up to the voters to decide whether such laws will stand or fall. Like last year's recall, Proposition 72 represents, in effect, the people (1) registering in concrete terms an unusual level of dissatisfaction with the doings of their elected representatives and (2) reminding those representatives that they — the voters — remain the first and final authority in deciding the direction government should take.

Gregory Sanford is a political writer living in Southern California.

Proposition 72 began as Senate Bill 2, passed in 2003 and signed by former Governor Gray Davis two days before he was recalled. It was enacted in the context of exploding budget deficits; flight of businesses, capital, and people from the state; and the first-ever removal from office by voters of a duly-elected, sitting governor. Senate Bill 2 increases government controls on employers and over the market for health insurance and health care by forcing anyone who hires 200 or more people (dropping to 50 or more in 2007) to arrange health insurance for those employees whether or not the employees want coverage as a requirement of holding their jobs. The employer may choose to buy insurance directly, paying 80 percent of the cost (employees would be responsible for 20 percent), or pay a fee to the state to provide the insurance. Employers that cannot afford to hire people at competitive pay while also paying either the forced insurance premium or the state fee would have to reduce the number of jobs they would otherwise offer, cut their employees' pay, or both. Minimum-wage employees, whose pay cannot be cut by law, would have to be fired to cover the cost of those still working. Alternatively, businesses could move out of state to avoid the regulation.

HIGHER COSTS, LOWER WEALTH

By further reducing the flexibility with which Californians can legally arrange their own health care, SB 2 would increase waste and overuse of health care services. Those receiving care will still pay for it, but the cost will be hidden in the forms of lower wages or salaries, higher taxes and costs of government, and higher costs for non-insured health care products and services. Not seeing the true costs of their health care decisions, people will "buy" more health care than they would without the illusion that it's all somehow "free." The resulting increased demand will force health care costs up even further in an ongoing inflationary spiral. At the same time, by discouraging jobs and business growth, the regulations will diminish Californians' overall wealth and, thus, their ability to pay for health insurance or care. For the economy as a whole, the regulations' major effect will be to disrupt the communications system a free market in health care would maintain telling everyone the real cost of care so that people can rationally choose how much or it to use and when to use it.

An in-depth study conducted by the DC-based Employment Policies Institute (EPI) concluded that Proposition 72 would cost California employers more than $12.5 billion a year. The study found that business relocation and downsizing resulting from Proposition 72

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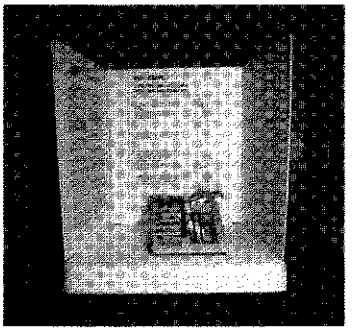
will cause California to lose between 67,000 and 150,000 jobs.

The measure's supporters say Proposition 72 will provide coverage for 6.4 million uninsured Californians. The EPI study, however, says Proposition 72 will at best cover only 30 percent of the uninsured, about 1.9 million people. Under this measure, the study reported, the average per-person cost comes to more than $6,500 a year, while the average premium in California now stands at slightly more than $3,100.



The election system Prop. 62 would bring to California permitted David Duke and Edwin Edwards to be finalists for governor.

CPR Editors

Proposition Summaries

Proposition 1A: a new proposal to prevent the state from raiding local government pocketbooks, written during state budget negotiations. Constitutional Amendment.
Support: Ray Haynes; Arnold Schwarzenneger; California Republican Party (CRP); California Federation of Republican Women (CFRW); California Congress of Republicans (CCR); California Democrat Party (CDP)
Oppose:

❁ ❁ ❁

Proposition 59
Expanded Public Access to State and Local Government Information ("Sunshine Act"). Allows the right of access to information concerning the conduct of the people's business, and mandates that it be applied in the broadest possible sense. Constitutional Amendment.
Support: Ray Haynes; California Republican Assembly (CRA); CCR; CRP; CFRW; CDP
Oppose:

❁ ❁ ❁

Proposition 60
Political Party Candidates Inclusion on General Election Ballots. Provides that a political party that participated in a primary election for a partisan office has the right to participate in the general election for that office. (SCA 18 Johnson) Constitutional Amendment
Support: Ray Haynes; CRP; CFRW; CCR; CDP
Oppose:

❁ ❁ ❁

Proposition 60A
Surplus State Property: Requires that proceeds from the sale of surplus state property be used to pay off bonds issued pursuant to the Economic Recovery Bond Act. Constitutional Amendment.
Support: Ray Haynes; CRP; CDP;
Oppose:

❁ ❁ ❁

Proposition 61
Children's Hospital Projects. Authorizes $750 Million in General Obligation bonds to fund grants to eligible children's hospitals for construction, expansion, remodeling, renovation, furnishing and equipping children's hospitals. 20 percent goes to University of California general acute care hospitals; 80 percent to other general acute care hospitals. Initiative Statute
COST: $1.5 billion over 30 years to pay off principal ($750 million) and interest ($800 million). Cost about $50 million a year.
Support: CDP
Oppose: Ray Haynes; CRA; CFRW; CRP

❁ ❁ ❁

Proposition 62
See discussion above, page 24
Support: Steve Westly, Richard Riordan, Garry South
Oppose: Ray Haynes; CRA; CCR; CRP; CDP; CFRW

❁ ❁ ❁

Proposition 63
Tax on Higher Income Taxpayers: Tax Hike for Mental Health Services (Assemblyman Darrell Steinberg) Imposes additional 1 percent tax on taxable income over $1 million to provide funding for expansion of mental health services and programs.
Support: CDP; California State Employees Association (CSEA); California Teachers Association (CTA);
Oppose: Ray Haynes; CRA; CCR; CRP; CFRW

❁ ❁ ❁

Proposition 64
Unfair Competition Lawsuit Reforms ("Stop Shakedown Lawsuits"). Amends unfair business competition laws to limit individual's right to sue by allowing private enforcement only if that individual has been actually injured by, and suffered financial/property loss because of an unfair business practice; authorizes only

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the attorney general to sue on behalf of the general public.

Kwikset Corp., the world's largest residential lockset manufacturer, faces a $3 million judgment for selling locks advertised as "Made in the U.S.A.," because the locks included six screws made in Taiwan. The suit was brought by a California man, James Benson, under Section 17200 of the state's Business and Professions Code, the so-called unfair competition law. This law allows any person to file a suit against a business claiming an unlawful or fraudulent act, even if the plaintiff has not been directly harmed by the purported wrongdoing.

Support: Ray Haynes; California Chamber of Commerce (CCC); CRP; CFRW; CCR

Oppose: CDP; United Farm Workers (UFW)

❁ ❁ ❁

Proposition 65

Local Government Funds & Revenues, State Mandates: Voter Approval Requirements. Requires voter approval for any legislation that provides for any reduction, based on January 1, 2003 levels, of local governments' vehicle license fee revenues, sales tax powers and revenues, and proportionate share of local property tax revenues. Permits local government to suspend performance of state mandate if state fails to reimburse local government within 180 days of final determination of state-mandated obligation. Constitutional Amendment

Support:

Oppose: Ray Haynes; CRP; CCR

❁ ❁ ❁

Proposition 66

See discussion above, page 25

Support: CDP

Oppose: Ray Haynes; Arnold Schwarzenegger; CRP; CFRW; CCR;

❁ ❁ ❁

Proposition 67

"Telephone Tax" ("911 Emergency and Medical Services Initiative"). Creates a three percent surcharge rate on telephone use within California, capped at 50 cents for residential service providers, but not capped for cell phones or business lines. Would fund emergency personnel training and equipment, reimbursement for uncompensated emergency physician care, uncompensated community clinic care, and emergency telephone system improvements. Constitutional Amendment

Support:

Oppose: Ray Haynes; Calif Chamber of Commerce; CRP; CFRW; CCR; CDP

❁ ❁ ❁

Proposition 68

Non-Tribal Commercial Gambling Expansion. Unless all compacted tribes agree to pay 25 percent of their revenues to state government, racetracks and gambling establishments (card clubs) could begin operating 30,000 slot machines in their establishments. These non-tribal slot machines would be required to pay 33 percent of their income to California. Also limits new tribal gaming. Constitutional Amendment

Support:

Oppose: Arnold Schwarzenegger; Ray Haynes; CRP; CFRW; CCR; CDP; UFW

❁ ❁ ❁

Proposition 69

DNA Fingerprints: Requires all felons to provide DNA samples for storage in a law enforcement database ("Unsolved Crime & Innocence Protection Act"). Initiative Statute

Support: Ray Haynes; CRP; CFRW; CCR

Oppose: CDP; CSEA

❁ ❁ ❁

Proposition 70

Tribal Gaming Compacts. Exclusive Gaming Rights. ("Indian Gaming Fair Share Revenue Act") Allows unlimited tribal casino expansion rights in exchange for 8.84 percent (or equivalent to state corporate tax rate) donation of their net profits to the state. Requires governor to offer renewable 99-year gaming compacts providing exclusive gaming rights on Indian land. Constitutional Amendment

Support: Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Association; Nationl Tax-Limitation Committee; Sen.s McClintock and Battin

Oppose: Arnold Schwarzenegger; Ray Haynes; CRP; CFRW; CCR; CDP

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Proposition 71

See discussion above, page 25

Support: CDP; NOW; Ca Cham of Comm;

Oppose: Ray Haynes; CRP; CFRW

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Proposition 72

Referendum: See discussion above, page 26

Support: CDP; CTA; UFW; NOW

Oppose: Ray Haynes; CRA; California Chamber of Commerce; CRP; CFRW; CCR

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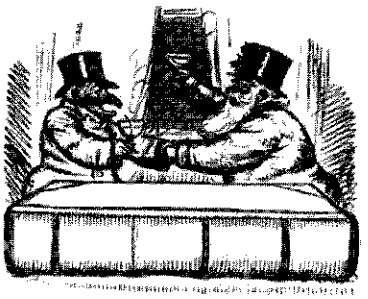

CRITICUS

The Gift of the Magus

BY G.B. TENNYSON

GIFT GIVING is as old as mankind. After all, Eve gave Adam the "gift" of the apple, and in a happier sense people have been giving more benign gifts for birthdays and other occasions for as long as we can imagine. So when the Magi brought their gold, frankincense, and myrrh to the Christ child on what became the Feast of the Epiphany they elevated and sanctified an ancient practice. That Christmas giving has become a vast commercial undertaking has taken a good bit of the elevation and the sanctity out of it. But such giving can still be used to good purpose.

One such good purpose is the giving of worthy reading matter, and one way of encouraging that has long been the practice engaged in by middle- and highbrow periodicals of recommending books for Christmas giving. Many magazines do this by inviting various folk — often their regular contributors, sometimes notabilities from outside their pages, or indeed a combination of both — to offer their recommendations for books for their readers to read and/or give as gifts for Christmas. *CPR,* operating as it does with a select and overburdened roster of contributors and most of them focused on government and politics (especially in this particular issue), has decided in its wisdom to let its resident Arts and Culture editor serve as a kind of single Magus to distribute his metaphorical gifts of recommendations of books for Christmas and the coming year. The books being recommended are, with a few exceptions, books published in the past five years. A caution: given that the election will be over shortly after readers first see this issue, Magus Criticus has decided that his list will not include books on that coming event or on the multitude of election-year books that have been pouring from the presses in such abundance that for months no television talk show has been daily without a guest plugging his book on some aspect of the presidential race. Who would have thought there were so many ghostwriters in the world? One show even featured the satanic-looking James Carville flogging of all things a children's book he had written. Are we to be spared nothing?

G.B. Tennyson is CPR's *Christmas Book Giving correspondent, a new and probably evanescent position.*

WELL, YES, for that is my point in eschewing books on politics. As you will see, my recommendations are arranged along hierarchical lines, from the weightier books down to the most amusing and even ephemeral. Of course some categories will contain books that overlap with other categories, that is, some serious books contain humor and some humorous books contain instructive elements. Nevertheless, there is, I hope, some-

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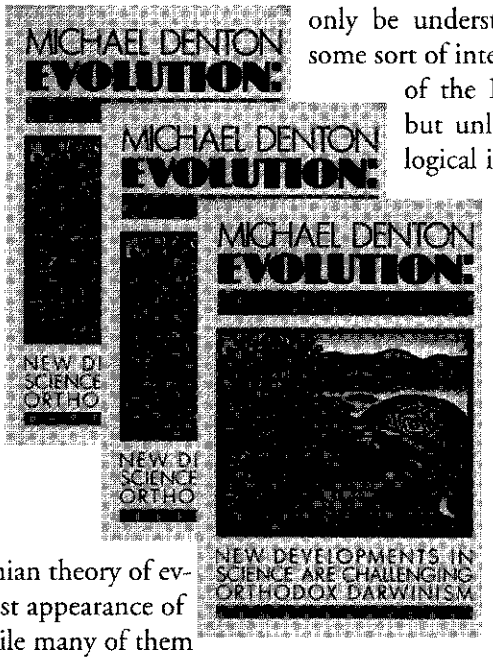
thing for everyone. Except for dedicated readers of novels. Magus Criticus does not do novels, for he rarely reads them anymore, even on airplanes. To be sure, Criticus has previously confessed to reading the *Da Vinci Code* when in Italy, but remember that he was too ill to handle anything deeper, and besides, we visited Da Vinci's hometown, and I thought the book might help. It didn't. And yes, there is in this current list a consideration of some fictional works at the end, but I leave it to the reader to determine whether these are really novels at all.



Science and its Discontents

The arguments against the Darwinian theory of evolution go all the way back to the first appearance of *The Origin of Species* (1859), and while many of them were based on religion and revelation, there were also some serious scientific quarrels, such as those that gave rise to the term "missing link." They were ignored or dismissed and, following the time of the Scopes trial in 1925, Darwinism carried all before it and became enshrined in enlightened opinion and in the schools as absolute fact, not to say dogma. There it has remained, and for many still remains. But the Darwinists had, as Lady Macbeth said in another context, "only scotched the snake, not killed it."

THE SNAKE kept popping up in various woods and copses over the years, though unnoticed or simply shooed away until sixty years after Scopes when it emerged fully grown and indeed transformed into a lion. Forgive all this confusion of animal imagery. I am referring to the publication in 1985 of Michael Denton's *Evolution: A Theory in Crisis.* This important work is now seen as the premier salvo in a battle that is still raging, often referred to as the battle over "Intelligent Design." Briefly put, Intelligent Design is not the same thing as so-called "creation science," though Darwinists always seek to lump the two together in order to depict proponents of Intelligent Design as the same as Bible-thumping fundamentalists. Intelligent Design, however, does not rely or call upon the Bible as its justification. It relies on very modern scientific study, especially in the field of molecular biology. Studies in this area show a certain irreducible complexity in all manner of biological forms, complexity that cannot be explained by the Darwinian theory of gradual accumulation brought about by chance mutation. In other words these forms are such that they can only be understood as having been designed by some sort of intelligence. This is in a sense a revival of the Paleyian "argument from design," but unlike Paley it rests not simply on a logical inference from finding a watch and inferring a watchmaker, but from detailed scientific examination of the structure of living things.

Criticus is no scientist, so he will not try to explain the concept of Intelligent Design any further than he just has. Instead, he recommends a number of titles from the years following Denton, such as Michael Behe's *Darwin's Black Box* (discussed by Criticus some years ago in these pages), William Dembski's *Intelligent Design, CPR* contributor Phillip Johnson's *Darwin on Trial* and *The Right Questions,* Jonathan Wells's *Icons of Evolution,* and above all for your Christmas stocking Thomas Woodward's *Doubts about Darwin.* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 2003). The reason for stressing the Woodward book is not that it is the most learned and scientific, but precisely that it is, as its subtitle tells us, "A History of Intelligent Design." Woodward provides the reader with the whole story of the extraordinary revolution and imminent paradigm shift that Intelligent Design has brought about, summarizing the arguments of Denton and his followers, as well as those of his detractors, and showing how the conflict depends in no small measure on the role of rhetoric.

Years ago Criticus was alerted by Owen Barfield to some of the rhetorical sleight of hand in the Darwinian theory. Above all we are supposed to accept as a fact the notion of natural selection without recognizing that selection implies a selector, that the objects for "selection" are brought about by chance ("random mutation"), and that the concept of the "survival of the fittest" in effect defines the fittest as those who survive, *i.e.,* the survival of the survivors. A mad world, my masters.

Heresy and Orthodoxy

Still in the realm of science but science even more unorthodox than that of the Intelligent Design proponents, readers may want to look into the latest study by a leading investigator of what most people call the paranormal. The book in question is Rupert Sheldrake's

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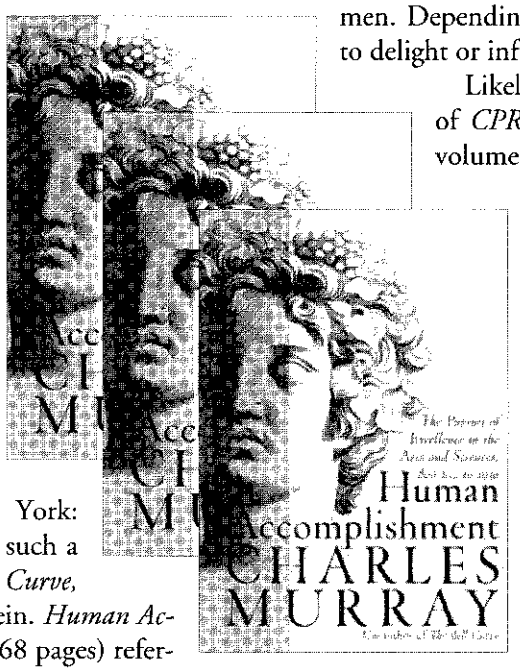
The Sense of Being Stared At (London: Hutchinson, 2003). Sheldrake is the author of five other books and co-author of four more in this general area, which he sees not as paranormal but as the area of the "seventh sense" and the "extended mind." What he is examining in all his works is here epitomized by the title, as it is by the title of an earlier work *Dogs That Know When Their Owners Are Coming Home.*

IN THE case of being stared at, we have probably all had the experience of feeling we are being stared at by someone we can't immediately see and turning around to see someone staring at us. Doubtless also we have had the experience of ourselves staring at someone from behind or at a distance only to see that person turn around and look our way. We have probably all also had the experience of thinking about someone only to receive a telephone call from that person minutes or even seconds later. These experiences and countless others involving forebodings, premonitions, precognition, and telepathy are very common, though usually discounted as coincidence. Likewise, who has not marveled at such apparently inexplicable phenomena as fish swimming in schools and flocks of birds moving in concert, wheeling and turning as one? Sheldrake argues persuasively that all of these things are part of the real world, not accidents or delusions. Sheldrake's concept of the "extended mind" is as revolutionary and counter to the prevailing paradigm as is the argument of Intelligent Design. A fine gift for a truly inquiring mind.



Provocative in a different way from Sheldrake we have the compendious *Human Accomplishment* by Charles Murray (New York: Harper-Collins, 2003), who made such a stir a few years ago with *The Bell Curve,* co-authored with Richard Herrnstein. *Human Accomplishment* is another weighty (668 pages) reference and think piece that will cause some dismay among the bien-pensants, though not perhaps so much as *The Bell Curve* did. That book after all made unfashionable assertions about race and class and intelligence. *Human Accomplishment* is subtitled "The Pursuit of Excellence in the Arts and Sciences, 800 B.C. to 1950." The book is rich with graphs and statistics and maps and lists and appendices to a degree at which it becomes overwhelming, at least for the average reader. What it primarily does, however, is to tell the stories of the great achievers during the vast span of time cited in the subtitle and to reflect upon the reasons for the patterns that these achievers and achievements display. Here is where it will offend. Only two key conclusions Murray comes to need be cited to make the point. Murray argues, and indeed shows, that the great achievements and achievers in the arts and sciences have been overwhelmingly European and also in recent times from European-derived cultures, including the U.S. If that isn't enough to offend multi-culturalists, we can add feminists, for Murray also makes clear that the vast majority of the great achievers have been men. Depending upon the recipient, this is a gift to delight or infuriate.

One show even featured the satanic-looking James Carville flogging of all things a children's book he had written. Are we to be spared nothing?

Likely to please just about any reader of *CPR* is the recently published second volume of *The Collected Letters of C.S. Lewis,* edited by Walter Hooper (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 2004). These letters cover the years 1931-1949, which means the years from Lewis's conversion to Christianity through his abundant writings of the 1930s to the war years with his radio broadcasts and to the years immediately following the war. That the volume runs 1132 pages and is nevertheless still only a selection of Lewis's letters from the years indicated makes one realize what a prodigious correspondent Lewis was. To be sure, some of the letters are relatively brief but most of them are relatively long, and every one of them is interesting, for Lewis seems to have been incapable of writing a dull letter, or dull prose of any kind for that matter. The editing by Walter Hooper is stunningly rich and detailed, a triumph of scholarship and taste. For reasons of space Hooper

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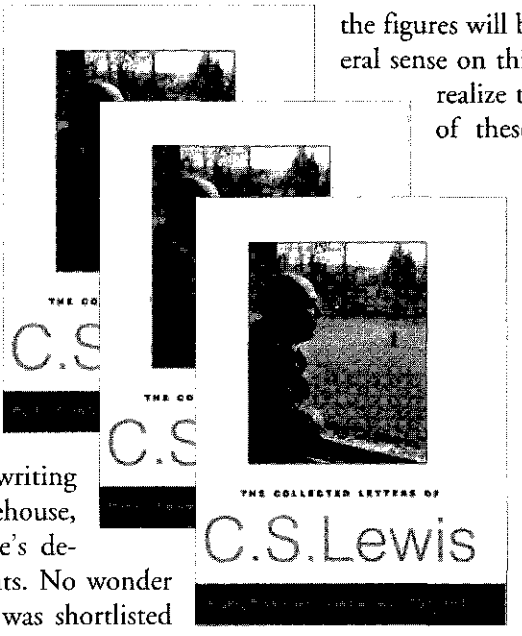
Murray shows that the great achievements and achievers in the arts and sciences have been overwhelmingly European and from European-derived cultures.

does not repeat the excellent biographies of Lewis's correspondents that appear in volume I (published 2001) covering the years from 1905 to 1931, but he provides immensely informative ones for persons who first appear in this latest volume. The ideal gift would thus be both volumes. Criticus has been reliably informed by Hooper himself that volume III, 1950-1963, will appear by December 2005. Thus next Christmas will be the ideal time to add the third volume or to make a very special gift of the full three-volume set.

Farewell

Constant readers will know of Criticus's fondness for obituaries. I like them not only for the purely factual information they contain but even more for the unusual, the uncommon, the human, and the idiosyncratic light they cast on their subjects and on the world around us. The best obituarists are British and the best source for obituaries for the past almost two decades has been *The Daily Telegraph*. It was in 1986 that Hugh Massingberd took over as obituaries editor for that paper and transformed the rather stiff style of the traditional obituary into something approaching an art form, one that more often than not is a comic art form. After all, Massingberd cheerfully acknowledges that his guide and inspiration for his approach to writing obituaries was always P.G. Wodehouse, especially the style of Wodehouse's descriptions of Bertie Wooster's aunts. No wonder that volume V, described below, was shortlisted for the Bollinger Everyman Wodehouse Prize for Comic Writing in 2000.



Massingberd stayed at the helm until ill health forced him to resign in 1994. But the style he pioneered has remained to this day, and he has been able since leaving the daily obituary pages to collect in book form no fewer than five volumes of *Telegraph* "Books of Obituaries," published between 1995 and 2001. Each book collects obituaries on particular types of persons. Thus the first is a gathering of obits on "Eccentric Lives," the second "Heroes and Adventurers," the third "Entertainers," the fourth "Rogues," the fifth "Twentieth-century Lives," and finally "the Very Best" of Telegraph Books of Obituaries. (In this last volume Criticus came upon an obituary of a scandalous woman he had known in Rome many years ago. I knew Felicity was freewheeling, but I did not know quite how free and quite how wheeling she was. Decency prevents me from relating in detail any of her escapades in a respectable publication like this one, though Massingberd recounts them without a trace of embarrassment. I mean, on horseback riding around the Sphinx ...!)

For the past fifteen or more years the task of writing most of the clerical obituaries at the *Telegraph* has been in the hands of Trevor Beeson, himself a Church of England clergyman, former canon of Westminster and Dean of Winchester. Therefore it is only fitting that he should have brought forth in 2002 *Priests and Prelates,* a collection of *Telegraph* clerical obituaries. As with all of these *Telegraph* collections, but especially with this latest one, the drawback for American readers is that many or most of the figures will be unknown even in the most general sense on this side of the water. But one must realize that the real reading pleasure of all of these volumes resides in the telling rather than in one's prior knowledge of the person. Treat them much as you would a series of fictional sketches while marveling at the fact that they are also true. (To the best of my knowledge all of these books of obituaries except Beeson's are in print under the Pan paperback imprint, a division of Macmillan. Beeson's collection is published by Continuum Books.)

Continuum Books also brings us in 2004 a collection of essays that is part obituary and part reminiscence of a clergyman who of course also gained an entry in *Priests and Prelates,* namely one Brian Brindley (1931-2001). This collection is punningly titled

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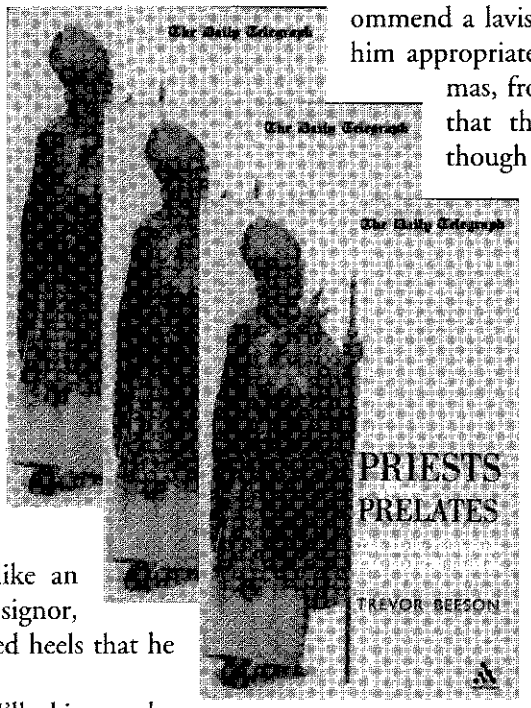
Loose Canon, for Brindley was an honorary canon of Christ Church, Oxford. He was also the most flamboyantly eccentric cleric ever produced by the Anglo-Catholic Movement in the Church of England. Criticus has been there and can assure you, that is saying something. Because of his eccentricities Brindley was banished to a small parish church in an insalubrious neighborhood near the railway station in Reading, which he did up in such extravagant style that the bishop's seat was described as being worthy of a Borgia Pope. Brindley, a large figure fond of rich food, dressed himself even in public like an eighteenth-century Roman monsignor, including buckled shoes with raised heels that he personally painted a brilliant red.



Well, one could go on, but I'll skip to the close. Brindley died of a heart attack in the midst of a seven-course dinner at the Athenaeum Club in London in honor of his seventieth birthday "between the dressed crab and the boeuf en croute."

For the Coffee Table

There is a certain overlap between the books of obituaries and William Donaldson's *Brewer's Rogues, Villains and Eccentrics* (London: Cassell, 2002). Donaldson even admits that one of the inspirations for this "A-Z of Roguish Britons Through the Ages" was the *Telegraph* obituary volumes. Another, of course, was the long-established reference work *Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase and Fable.* The chief differences are that Donaldson's 662 oversize pages cover figures from all ages and are not even in the loose Massingberd sense obituaries but rather brief lives, colorful and often comic though they be. There are also numerous cross-references to topics that refer the reader to individuals, as for example the entry: "sadomasochistic pornography in Europe, the most comprehensive library of. See Edinburgh, Prince Philip, Duke of." When one checks the Prince Philip entry one finds that in the course of describing Prince Philip's upbringing it is noted that his "surrogate father, the Marquess of Milford Haven, is best remembered for having assembled the most comprehensive library of sadomasochistic pornography in Europe." There are rather too many such leg-pullings in this book, but it still serves as a diverting dip-in sort of coffee-table book — or perhaps for the bathroom.

On the true coffee-table level Criticus can recommend a lavishly illustrated book that came to him appropriately as a gift, albeit not at Christmas, from a learned colleague who knew that the title would prompt Criticus, though perhaps not too many others, to think of T.S. Eliot. The book is *South with Endurance: Shackelton's Antarctic Expedition 1914-1917: The Photographs of Frank Hurley* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 2004). There are written contributions by divers hands, but the main point and the glory of this huge volume are nearly 500 superb photographs taken at the time by Hurley, the official photographer of this adventure of incredible endurance. The quality of the photographs, some in splendid color, from that era is breathtaking, easily the equal of anything done with the vastly more sophisticated photographic equipment available today.

T.S. Eliot wrote that he thought it was from the Shackelton expedition that the story emerged of "the party of explorers, at the extremity of their strength, had the constant delusion that there was *one more member* than could actually be counted." That statement is from Eliot's note to the lines in *The Waste Land* that read "Who is the third who walks always beside you? / When I count there are only you and I together / But when I look ahead up the white road / There is always another one walking beside you / Gliding wrapt in a brown mantle, hooded." Is that why all the members of the Shackelton expedition survived?

Smile

There are always many, indeed too many, humorous books that pop up at Christmas time, but happily we must go to press here too far in advance for them to appear and for Magus Criticus to be obliged to look into them. Instead, by way of dessert, he recommends two entertaining volumes and cites briefly three that can only be called oddities.

The entertaining one is *Port Out, Starboard Home,* subtitled "and other language myths," by Michael Quinion (London: Penguin, 2004). Quinion, a language expert and researcher for the *Oxford English Dictionary,* has collected and assembled by alphabetical entries numerous words and expressions that most people

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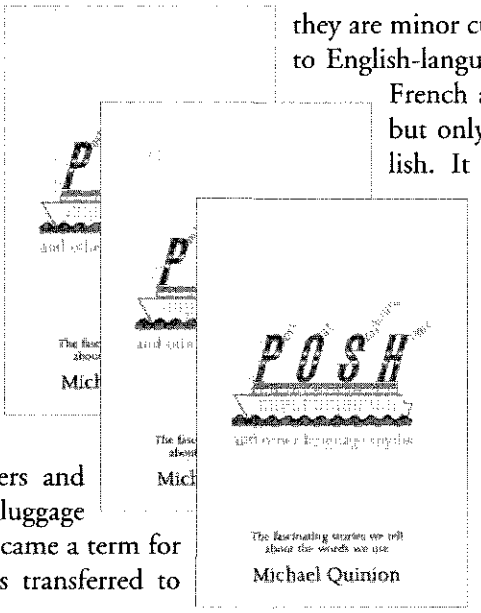
have a mistaken notion of the origin or even meaning of. It is with regret that Criticus accepts and herewith reports to Constant Readers that the word *posh* that gives the book its title and that means elegant and wealthy and usually upper-class, does not, as most have long believed, derive from the term used to describe the preferred cabin bookings on the P&O steamship line vessels from England to India during the days of the Raj. The idea was that one sailed on the port, or left, side going to India to be away from the heat and blazing sun and on the starboard, or right, side returning to England for the same reason. These would be the mostly northern sides in their respective directions. It was even believed that the preferred sides were reserved for the wealthiest customers and that the P&O line stamped their luggage with the letters POSH. This then became a term for the wealthy and privileged and was transferred to persons and things in general.



ALAS, QUINION tells us it isn't so. For one thing the P&O line denies it ever stamped luggage with the letters in question. Quinion believes it probably derived from a Romany (*i.e.* Gypsy) word for money, and posh people usually have a lot of that. Quinion himself has a lot of other words he demythologizes in the way he does *posh,* making this an ideal gift for the language enthusiast and the person who likes books you can dip into at random and find something interesting and brief. Of course, the popular use of *posh* survives all the same.

If you want a view into the world of posh people who flourished in the 1970s, you should pick up *The Unexpurgated Beaton Diaries* (London: Phoenix, 2003). These are the writings of the indefatigable diarist Cecil Beaton (1904-1980), best known to Americans as a photographer of the rich, titled, and famous, and stage and film designer (he dressed Audrey Hepburn for *My Fair Lady).* And unlike the six volumes of self-edited and polished diaries published during Beaton's lifetime, this collection, edited by Hugo Vickers, is truly unexpurgated. If you like nasty and waspish comments on celebrities and aristocrats, this is the book for you. Be warned, the annotation is so extensive and the name-dropping so unremitting that it is sometimes difficult to stay with the flow, but when Beaton is at his most vicious he is really quite amusing. Best in small doses.

There's nothing much humorous or informative about the three novels with which Magus Criticus closes this survey, but there is something distinctly odd about each. Two of them are hardly new. Indeed they are minor cult classics, though largely unknown to English-language speakers. They are both by the French author Georges Perec (1936-1982), but only one has been translated into English. It is *La disparition* (1962), literally "The Disappearance," but translated as *A Void,* for the good reason that its 233 pages in French nowhere contain the vowel "e." Nor does the English translation. Perec followed this work in 1972 with *Les revenentes,* or as one source has it *Les revenants,* which would mean "The Ghosts," whereas *revenentes* means "Resold Items." The reason this matters is that in a reversal of *A Void* in this novel the only vowel used is, what else? "e." Why would Perec make an exception in the title? So far as I know it was never translated into English. This is hard to understand since "e" is the most frequently used vowel in English.

We had to wait until the present year for a new entry in this bizarre category of full-length books lacking some normally central component of language. It is Michel Thaler's *Le train de nulle part* (Paris: Adcan, 2004), which in English is "The Train from Nowhere." This is the first novel without a single verb. It has not been translated into English. The author admits that "Thaler" is a pseudonym and that he is in his sixties. Nothing more is known about him. The novel is evidently a lengthy and strongly negative description of passengers on a train. Women say they get the worst of it, but men say that both sexes are treated with similar contempt. And all without a verb.

Now what, you may ask, can a Constant Reader do with any of these three literary curiosities by way of gift giving? Magus Criticus answers: give any or all to the person on your list who does not like to read and has limited French but is disinclined to admit to either of these conditions. He will feel no obligation to waste his time with them, but he can display them proudly as being the only person of his acquaintance who even knows of the existence of these wacky creations. You don't have to tell him that Criticus himself has never read a single one.

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Wit, intellect, and principle ... in a politician?

BY ALLEN BRANDSTATER

HAGIOGRAPHY IS the academic's term for an idealizing or idolizing biography. Just about any politician's book about himself is nearly certain to shine light on an illustrious career, leaving the negatives, or actual facts, to enemies.

Not so with former Congressman James E. Rogan's *Rough Edges: My Unlikely Road from Welfare to Washington.* Neither rich Republicans nor poor Democrats will fail to laugh, cry, or be inspired by one of the most honest (and perhaps embarrassingly candid) political memoirs yet written. Equally astonishing is that every word is written by Rogan: no "With ..." co-author on the cover or ghostwriter for him.

He was abandoned before his birth by his father, who suggested to Rogan's mother, Alice, that she consider a back-alley abortion as an alternative to bearing the responsibility of a child. He was raised for the first several years by grandparents (his grandmother was born in a tent in San Francisco's Golden Gate Park) and speaks glowingly of his grandfather.

As one also raised from infancy by my grandparents, I found Rogan's paean to his grand-dad is personally touching:

> My grandfather rose before dawn every day. He never called in sick. He worked hard, willed a crippled granddaughter to walk, and loved his family deeply. He never owned a house; he lived paycheck to paycheck, and he died with empty pockets. He also raised a little boy who one day went to Congress, rubbing elbows along the way with royalty, sports giants, war heroes, Hollywood superstars, and seven presidents of the United States. All of them fell short in comparison: the greatest man I ever saw cross the stage wasn't a politician or celebrity.
>
> Someday, when we're reunited, I'll tell him so.

Rough edges

by James E. Rogan

HarperCollins/

Regan Books,

2004, 322 pages,

$25.95, cloth.

All right: but there are some blemishes in young Rogan's adolescent and teen years: skipping school, mostly to collect autographs from political figures visiting the Bay Area; finally giving in to peer pressure about smoking marijuana (about which Rogan observes "lowering my standards of right and wrong seemed like a good bargain at the time"); and his tawdry collection of friends during those teen years.

EXPELLED FROM his previous high school (class-cutting had caught up with him), Rogan also experienced affirmative action up close and personal when he was exiled to Gompers Continuation High School in Richmond, a suburb of San Francisco. He describes it "as one of the worst schools in one of the worst school districts in America."

Even with its predominantly black student population, Rogan was warmly greeted on his first day: "'We're gonna cut you after school, white boy'" and "'You're

Allen Brandstater is a publicist and political consultant in Glendale, California, as well as a charter member of the Vast Right-wing Conspiracy, dating back to the mid-1960s.

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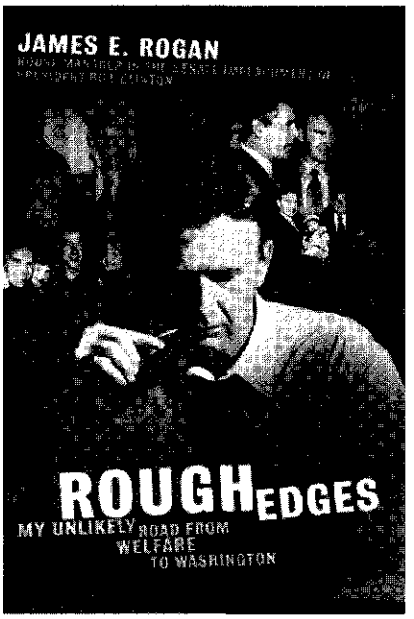
dead, honky.'" The school's reputation around the apartments was that "white guys" only went to Gompers if they wanted to get knifed. A few days later, after one actual fight, Rogan left the school and never returned, becoming a high school drop-out, and taking a series of jobs, including door-to-door salesman. Finally, he learned that he could enter a California Community College without a high school diploma — at age 18 — and continued his education by doing so.

REUNITED WITH his mother (and step-father of a marriage that did not work), he tells how his mom was receiving welfare as she also "secretly" worked as a cashier to help make ends meet. Caught by a social services investigator, Rogan's mother was insufficiently devious in her plea to the judge, admitting she might do it again to keep her family together and well-fed.

Wrong answer: she spent four months in jail and a half-way house.

Rogan's later political career was enhanced by a job at Straw Hat Pizza where he tasted life as a shop steward participating, alongside a union representative, in union negotiations. The union rep presented a list of demands, each summarily denied by the restaurant's attorney. The one item management and labor could agree on was raising union dues, small benefit for mostly young people working at minimum wage. Rogan's speech to the union members, preceeding their vote to accept the lousy agreement, demonstrated a succinctness that was to follow him through his political career: "I recounted the dirty deal I'd witnessed ... and I accused our union of being a rat's nest of sell-outs and cheats" — another insight, this one as to why the AFL-CIO never endorsed Rogan in his



campaigns for the state assembly or Congress.

After graduating from UC Berkeley in 1979, Rogan headed for law school at UCLA. (What is it with these Democrats and their choice of schools?) To earn his way, he held a variety of part-time jobs which his book describes hilariously. One was as a bartender (not at the Ritz-Carlton) where one evening he crossed paths with a notorious biker leader:

"... we talked about my law school efforts, and my continuing troubles from the Hell's Angels. 'They won't bother you anymore', he said. 'I'll take care of it.' With an air of cynicism, I asked my pool partner what he could do about it. He chugged on the beer bottle and then replied, 'My name's Sonny Barger. I'm the founder of the Oakland chapter of the Hell's Angels. They'll listen to me.'"

I have known Jim since the mid-1980s, when he was a deputy district attorney, assigned to the Pasadena court. Rogan's conversion as a Democrat to a Republican in 1988 was a significant step on his road to political fame. Like former President Ronald Reagan, Jim Rogan saw the Democrats of the 1980s as a Party transformed, almost unrecognizable when contrasted to the Democrat Party he grew up admiring. As a matter of fact, in 1989, after Reagan read Rogan's op-ed conversion piece in the *Los Angeles Times,* he invited Jim to visit him at his Century City office, and later wrote him a warm note in which he called Rogan's article "the best and most complete exposition I have seen of the philosophical reversal of the Democrat Party."

It's about here in the Rogan chronicle where former Assembly Speaker Willie Brown points out "Jim Rogan's story is truly inspirational ... until you get to the part where he becomes a Republican."

I'm flattered that Jim includes even my role (pages 290-292) in his first effort as a candidate for the state assembly. Either Rogan has recorded every telephone conversation he's participated in, or his memory is remarkable.

NATIONALLY KNOWN for his role as a House of Representatives impeachment managers against President Boy Clinton, Rogan showed a rare consistency in standing by his principles and his oath of office — exactly the qualities that earned him both national respect from conservatives and unabated enmity from left-wingers.

Yet, Rogan does not spend a great deal of time discussing the Clinton trial or his role in it. Why spoil the prospects for a potential sequel?

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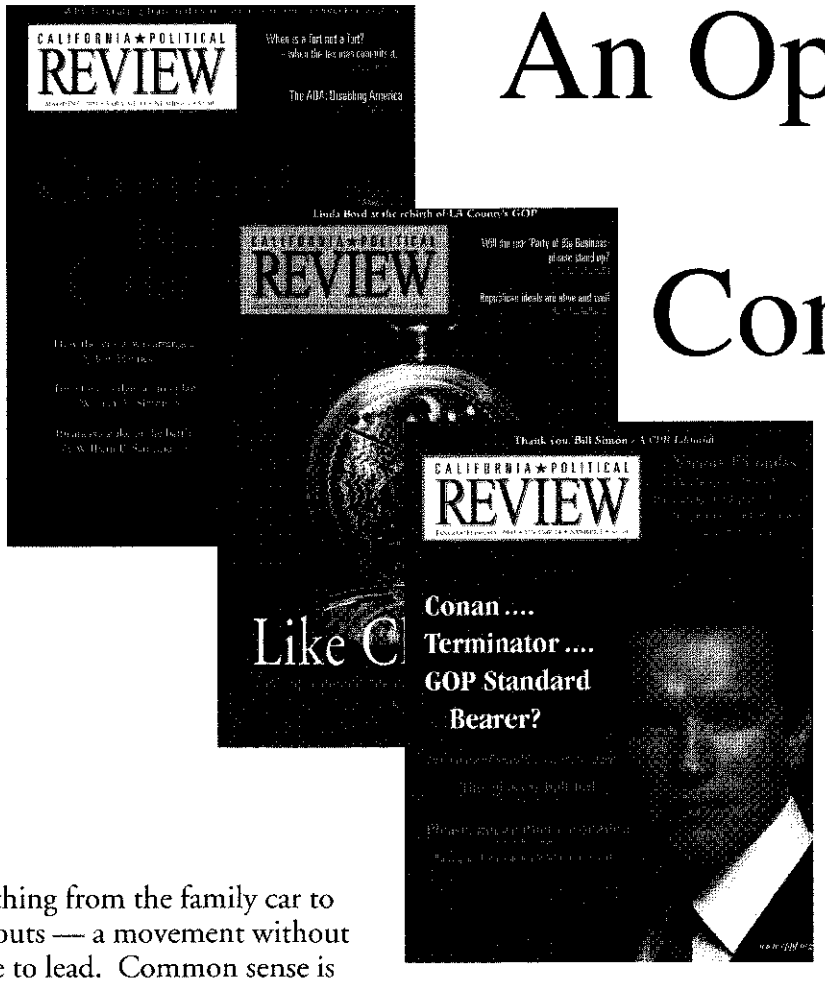

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— Irving Kristol

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